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The Shape of Things

WHEN AMERICAN TROOPS FIRST SET FOOT on African soil—before expediency had become the order of the day—it was assumed on all sides that a certain fruit of victory would be the immediate liberation of anti-Axis prisoners in North Africa. That was on November 14. Today, more than a month later, the enemies of the Axis are still imprisoned. We call this fact to the attention of all apologists for the Darlan deal, including some whose letters appear in this week's issue, who assert so confidently that the United States calls the tune to which our fascist collaborator marches. In the prison camps in the "liberated" territories there are today some 25,000 refugees from Central Europe, mostly Jews; some 30,000 Spanish Loyalists, many of them soldiers of the Republican army; an unknown number of De Gaullists and other anti-fascist Frenchmen. Most of these men seem destined to stay where they are for the duration of "expediency." The State Department has apparently decided that if the Jews were released, the local Arabs might be annoyed; if the Spaniards were released, Franco would be upset; if the Fighting French were released, Darlan would be angry. But the problem of the imprisoned Fighting French is at least considered a serious one, and the release of "some" De Gaullists seems to have been arranged.

*

MEANWHILE DARLAN IS EXERCISING FIRM control over the African radio. When the American troops landed, they brought with them technicians and other experts to take over the radio stations. So far nothing of the sort has happened. Not only are the stations still in Darlan's hands, but American broadcasts have been kept off the air. As a first result, news of the North African campaign that should have been transmitted by radio to this country has been choked off at the source. As a second, our command has been deprived of a powerful weapon of political warfare—the one weapon we could have used effectively to counter Axis propaganda in Europe and spread some of our own. Is the power of the United States not sufficient to induce Darlan to free French patriots or permit Americans the use of radio facilities in the territories they have occupied? It seems not. And one wonders whether we shall be in a better position to enforce our will after we have helped Darlan equip an army of three or four hundred thousand men.

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CRITICISM OF THE DARLAN DEAL IS FAR more widespread in Britain than in this country and appears to be shared by members of the government, although its attitude has been extremely correct. In order to allay the alarm expressed by members of Parliament of all parties Mr. Churchill addressed a secret session of the House of Commons. One persistent critic, Emanuel Shinwell, has since announced that he accepted the Prime Minister's explanation and was convinced that Darlan really was going to prove a temporary expedient. We should feel more reassured if the defenders of the Darlan deal in Washington were not trying so hard to build him up as a genuine but misunderstood French patriot. This suggests that there are elements in the Administration who are perfectly aware that it will not be easy to get rid of the Vichy Admiral and are entirely complacent about that fact. Publicly they may argue that Darlan's assumption of power in North Africa has no bearing on the future of France, which will be decided by the French people themselves without our intervention. But since the proponents of this view pride themselves on their realism, they must be aware that we are already intervening in French politics by aiding in the reconstruction of a French army in North Africa controlled and officered by fascists. Can anyone doubt that, when France is freed of Germans, Darlan will try to use this army to reestablish the Vichy regime? Or that such an attempt would be the signal for civil war—a war in which one side would have all the weapons? Are we then to stand aside in the name of non-intervention? Actions such as the deal with Darlan may have their short-term justifications; they also have long-term consequences not to be charmed away by references to liberal peevishness.

*

THE BATTLE OF EL AGHEILA HAS BEEN WON without a fight. Faced by a formidable British force which had been sending out powerful patrols preparatory to a full-scale attack, Marshal Rommel ordered a new retreat. The scanty news available fails to throw any clear light on the reasons for his decision. According to one report a British flanking movement had made the Axis position untenable, but there is no explanation of how such a move was possible against the El Agheila line, which is protected on the north by the sea and on the south by extensive marshes. One factor influencing Rommel must have been his weakness in the air. British and American fliers had knocked out his advance air base at Marble Arch and left him with very little fighter protection. But probably the chief reason for retreat was the urgent necessity of concentrating the Axis forces in North Africa, since they are manifestly too weak to defend the whole thousand-mile strip of coast between Bizerte and El Agheila. It remains to be seen whether Rommel will attempt more than delaying actions before arriving in the vicinity of Tripoli. We cannot, however, anticipate a very rapid advance by General Montgomery's men in view of the supply difficulties to be overcome. The same problem has temporarily checked our offensive in Tunisia, but there are indications that it is being solved. The forces under General Anderson have been compelled to yield some ground, but air support is growing stronger. An attempt is now being made to knock out the airfields at Bizerte and Tunis from which Axis fighters and dive-bombers have been operating effectively. If these can be forced to retreat to bases in Sicily, allied air superiority will have been established.

*

HITLER HAS TAKEN OUT A NEW INSURANCE policy against internal disaffection by reshuffling his High Command and giving key positions to politically reliable officers. In place of General Halder, who seems to have taken the rap for the failure of the Führer's personally conducted Russian campaigns, a General Kurt Zeitzler has been appointed chief of the army general staff. Colonel General Hans Jeshonnek has become chief of the air staff, Major General Adolf Galland inspector-general of the fighter-plane forces, and Admiral Kurt Fricke chief of the navy general staff. Not a great deal is known about any of these men, of whom all but Fricke are under fifty. Zeitzler, however, is understood to be an intimate friend of Himmler's and to have been the Gestapo head's personal representative at Hitler's headquarters before promotion to his new exalted position. Jeshonnek fought in the German air force during the last war and became an active participant in the secret Nazi plans for the revival of air power shortly before Hitler became Chancellor. Galland, only thirty, is a leading Nazi "ace" and fought as a "volunteer" in the Spanish civil war. Fricke, a naval career man, is not known to have been active outside the service but can be assumed to be politically "safe." These appointments must be taken as a counterpart of the development analyzed by "Argus" in last week's *Nation*—the organization of the Waffen S.S. This growing, heavily armed force, responsible only to Hitler and the party, is designed to be used in emergencies against either the Reichswehr or the people or both. But the danger it is designed to meet can also be countered by the infiltration of party fanatics into the army. Hitler has pursued this policy from the beginning, but at first he had to be content with creating Nazi cadres among the junior officers. Now he can place his men at the top.

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IF THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS WERE trying to prove the charges of incompetence and political cynicism leveled against it in the recent campaign, it could hardly have done so more effectively than by its behavior in the last two months of its term. After passing

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the law to draft eighteen- and nineteen-year-olds early in November, both houses of Congress lapsed into utter futility. The Senate allowed a handful of its members from the poll-tax states to hold up all legislative activity for a fortnight, then weakly agreed to kill the poll-tax bill rather than beat the opposition at its own game. Under the circumstances it was not unfitting that in the final days of the session Senator McCarran of Nevada was permitted to stage a one-man filibuster against the silver bill in an almost empty chamber. With only a handful of its members in Washington, the House was unable even to complete committee action on such an urgent matter as the President's appeal for emergency powers to lift tariff and immigration restrictions where these restrictions were clearly hampering the war effort. It succeeded in passing just one important measure in its last weeks—a bill for recomputing farm parity prices which, if enacted, would menace our entire price-control structure.

*

IN FACT, MANY CONGRESSMEN SEEM READY to tear up all of the price-control legislation they have enacted. Ostensibly they are merely concerned with "getting" Mr. Henderson. Actually they are contributing a large part of their time to activities that are calculated to destroy important parts of the price-control mechanism and to undermine public confidence in its administration. One important Congressional clique is determined to raise farm prices even though such action would certainly increase the cost of living and lead to a general demand for a boost in industrial wages. Another clique, composed at least in part of the same Congressmen, is out to obtain a repeal of the limitation of $25,000 a year on salaries. Such action, the executive board of the United Automobile Workers warns, would bring about a cancelation of the no-strike agreement between labor and management. The U. A. W. warning may appear to some to be just another example of irresponsible group action. But it serves to illustrate what many Congressmen seem to have forgotten, namely, that our whole economic-stabilization program rests upon the assumption that there will be an approximate equality of sacrifice for the war effort.

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ALREADY THE PRICE STRUCTURE IS SHOWING signs of serious weakness. Early this week the OPA issued an order authorizing price increases in sixteen items of everyday consumption. OPA investigators have found "hundreds" of violations of price ceilings in two of Washington's largest department stores. Enforcement of the price ceilings in other parts of the country is admittedly weak, and violators have all too easily taken refuge in the plea that the regulations are too complicated or are political in character. Evasion of the law is undoubtedly encouraged by Congressional attacks on Henderson, leading to the belief that the restrictions will ultimately be modified. In all the controversy over the details of price control few persons have taken the trouble to point out that the weaknesses in the anti-inflation program have not arisen because of faulty administration but because Congress failed to impose sufficiently high taxes to mop up the vast reservoir of excess spending power that exists in the country. This surplus is particularly apparent during the holiday season.

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BECAUSE OF THE SLOWNESS IN RATIONING many essential commodities, the spending spree has seriously depleted stocks in stores throughout the country. The situation has become particularly acute in foodstuffs, such as meat, dairy products, and canned goods, but it is probable that shortages in other kinds of supplies will appear by the end of the holiday season. Mr. Henderson frankly admits that rationing should have been started before the public began to feel the pinch of shortages, but he points out that Congress refused to appropriate enough money for the establishment of a general rationing system. If anyone takes the trouble to read the record, he will doubtless find that the OPA chief is fully correct, but when shortages arise, the average citizen will blame Mr. Henderson rather than Congress for the failure to anticipate them. Secretary of Agriculture Wickard, who as Food Administrator now shares responsibility with Mr. Henderson, has denied rumors of plans for an early extension of food rationing. He too accused Congress of refusing funds for this purpose. He hopes, however, to remedy the maldistribution of supplies by educating merchants and shoppers. That job needs doing, but it is no substitute for rationing.

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GERMAN REACTIONS TO THE BEVERIDGE plan attest the propaganda value of this attempt to provide a comprehensive scheme of social security as one of the pillars of post-war reconstruction. Immediately after publication of the report the Berlin radio opened a campaign to discredit it in German eyes. The German system of social insurance was hailed as far older and better than any British proposals—an unwitting tribute to the Nazis' "decadent" predecessors, to whose social-welfare measures the Third Reich has added little. Dr. Robert Ley, the drunken and corrupt leader of the Labor Front, dismissed the Beveridge plan as "an opiate for the masses," and other commentators saw it as "merely a means of agitation" and a method of steeling the British workers for a hard winter. So much attention to this subject suggests a Nazi fear that the publication of positive plans for economic betterment by the democratic powers may prove a disturbing element in Germany, that it may undermine the myth that only National Socialism can provide a cure for unemployment and other mass

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disorders. It follows that, apart from its intrinsic merits, the Beveridge plan deserves recognition as a worthy weapon of political warfare and one that is two-edged, for clearly, if its effects in Germany are disruptive, in Britain it is administering a tonic to morale. Will those in this country who demand a moratorium on social reform during the war, and even on post-war planning to this end, please ponder the meaning of Goebbels's outburst?

Franco in Hollywood

THE latest developments in the case of "For Whom the Bell Tolls" are nothing less than startling. A foreign power and, as most democrats would think, an unfriendly power, has been allowed to intervene in Hollywood and has been encouraged to believe that it has the right to censor American film production.

The whole story of the "Bell" is instructive. Those who knew their Hollywood were a little anxious from the moment they learned that the book had been bought by Paramount, a firm not distinguished for liberalism, or for courage in the face of the sort of opposition that might be expected. The first adaptation of the book, made by Louis Bromfield, doubtless did something to comfort Paramount since it omitted all such offensive words as fascism and fascist as applied to the Franco forces. Indeed, in this first version, which fortunately proved unusable, most of the political significance of the book was left out. At a later stage Dudley Nichols, one of Hollywood's most earnest liberals, was brought in to prepare a new treatment and a shooting script. Mr. Nichols's work on "The Informer," "The Long Voyage Home," "The Plough and the Stars," and other memorable films, has proved him to be an artist. Such box-office successes as "Stagecoach" have shown him to be thoroughly competent in purely commercial work. But Mr. Nichols could not solve Paramount's problem, which was to placate those Catholic pressure groups which had kept the Lawson-Wanger picture "Blockade" from so many screens. Then Paramount itself slowly joined the opposition to its own film. At least that is how it appears to our Hollywood informants. After the final preparation of the shooting version of the script there were constant attempts on the part of Paramount big shots to tone down the story. Their intention was frankly expressed. It was to insure that the "Bell" should be a wholly abstract film dealing with a saboteur's exploits in some mythical Ruritania. The words Spanish republic, fascist, democracy, and so forth were not to be heard. Outside opposition increased and took advantage of non-political difficulties, such as Hemingway's frank handling of the love story, which the producers had to face. Not all the efforts of Mr. Hemingway, Mr. Nichols, and others were able to preserve the real character of the "Bell."

Mr. Hemingway, it is said, became so disgusted with Paramount that when he was asked to provide an alternative ending he submitted two. In the first, to be shown in the sophisticated cities, the heroine dies of childbirth in a hospital. The second, designed for "the sticks," presents her as giving birth to the American flag, which slowly covers the screen. Anyway, matters became so bad that it was commonly reported in Hollywood that Mr. Nichols was being compelled to go on location during the shooting of the film to prevent further bowdlerization of his script.

Recently, Hollywood stories have it, the State Department stepped in and advised Paramount to submit the film to a representative of the Franco dictatorship for his approval. The result was that certain scenes were reshot; so that at the present moment two versions of them exist, one more or less representing Mr. Hemingway's intentions and the other representing Franco's views of what an American author should have written. A battle of influences will decide which of these two versions will reach the screen. The Spanish fascist government, the Catholic church, part of the State Department, and some of Paramount's chiefs are on one side; the author, the script writer, and the average conscience of the honest half of Hollywood are on the other. We are surprised that Admiral Darlan has not been brought in as umpire.

Murder of a People

THE fate that has befallen the Jews of Europe is so appalling a nightmare that men will shudder at its horrors for centuries to come; so Gargantuan in scope that it cannot be comprehended in its own day but must await the perspective of history. It will not shrink in that perspective but will grow until it dwarfs into insignificance the Roman persecution of the early Christians, the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Night, the terror of the Jacobins' guillotine, and all the pogroms that have stained the world from the days of the Pharaohs to the advent of Adolf Hitler. Make every allowance for hysteria, for exaggeration, for atrocity propaganda, and there remain the staggering facts that between one and two million men, women, and children have been slaughtered in Poland alone; that "scientific" methods have been introduced for the mass execution of a people, sparing neither the old nor those too young to walk; that a schedule has been fixed by the German government: so many thousands to be killed by the end of the year, so many by March 1, so many by June, until finally all but a handful of Jews, strong enough to be useful as slaves, will have been put to death. Gas, electricity, machine-guns, suffocation, starvation, and the introduc-

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tion of air bubbles in the veins—these are the principal weapons of scientific barbarism.

What can be done—now—to rescue the few million Jews left in Europe from the first human abattoirs in history? The problem reveals the power of blackmail at its most monumental. Peace with Hitler for the sake of saving hostages is out of the question. Such a surrender would mean disaster for the world, for the Jews above all. Yet the harder we fight, the nearer the doom of the Nazis approaches the fiercer will grow their homicidal mania. Let it be admitted in all solemnity that there is no escape from this ghastly dilemma. We can only choose to bring the struggle to the quickest possible conclusion, and the death of these innocents is the price we must pay for carrying on the fight.

Suggestions have been made for mitigating the terror, and all of them should be attempted, whether or not they offer much hope of success. All, that is, but one—namely, the proposal that our air force systematically raze German villages in reprisal. Aside from the fact that German villagers have nothing to do with the massacres in Poland, their extermination would scarcely raise a shudder in Berlin. On the other hand, the survivors of such vengeance raids, and their neighbors in surrounding towns, would forever cherish the grim memory of what was done to their friends and families in the name of the Jews. An anti-Semitism would be implanted that would outlive Hitler by generations.

We are glad to echo other proposals, though more in desperation than in confidence. There are indications that a joint declaration by all the United Nations is in the making. We hope it will be extremely specific, serving notice on individual Germans, by name, that the terms of the armistice will include a provision for their immediate delivery to an international tribunal on an indictment of murder, and that similar indictments will be drawn up against every civil or military authority who engages in the killing of civilians from now to the end of the war. We support, too, the suggestion that President Roosevelt address a message to the German people, by every available short-wave channel, acquainting them with the crimes of their leaders and calling upon them to demonstrate their revulsion. This might take the form of anonymous letters to the government or perhaps of subtle demonstrations of opposition such as the oppressed people of other lands have resorted to from time to time. The degree to which the German people dare to express their sense of outrage is the degree to which they should be absolved of complicity.

The Vatican should be asked to make representations to Berlin, and likewise the neutral governments of Switzerland, Sweden, and Turkey. Even General Franco might be put to the test on this issue. We are told he is both Christian and neutral.

It is unlikely that any of these measures would make the slightest difference to the Germans. Nevertheless, they are a vital part of the political warfare in which we are engaged, and they should be tried. In the end only the crushing defeat of the Axis and the utter extermination of the Nazi leadership will save the Jews from extinction and the rest of Europe from slavery. On the day of liberation it will be the duty and the privilege of the United Nations to recognize the boundless sacrifice which Hitler's major victims have made and to grant the survivors among them the peace and security which they have gone through hell to merit.

America's Beveridge Plan

REPORTS from Washington confirm the existence of a program for extending our social-security system which is in many respects fully as sweeping as the Beveridge plan for Britain discussed in the last issue of *The Nation*. The details of the American program, which has been submitted to the President by the National Resources Planning Board, have not yet been made public, but its general nature has been foreshadowed.

One of the chief advantages of the Beveridge plan over Britain's existing piecemeal system of social insurance is found in its effort to provide approximate uniformity in benefits regardless of whether a man's need arises from unemployment, accident, sickness, or old age. American social-security experts are known to have been working on the same problem, and it is believed that the report will recommend, in line with the President's message to Congress of a year ago, the introduction of accident and sickness benefits on the same basis as the benefits paid for unemployment and old age. The wide discrepancy which now exists between the relatively liberal benefits paid under old-age insurance and the meager, brief unemployment benefits paid in some states will presumably be met by increasing and standardizing unemployment payments and by extending the period of protection, possibly through federalization of the state unemployment-compensation systems. If such changes are accepted by Congress, the level of protection in these categories will be much higher than that of the Beveridge plan.

There seems little chance, however, that a comprehensive program for medical, dental, and convalescent care such as has been outlined for Britain will be adopted in this country. Sickness insurance has been under consideration by the present Administration since 1936, but the opposition of the American Medical Association to all proposals for pooling medical expenses has prevented any action. About the most that can be hoped for at this time is a plan for the payment of hospital costs such as was recommended by the President a year ago. This lack of adequate health protection is the most serious loop-

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hole in the American social-security system. Every other industrial country in the world, not excluding Hitler's Germany, provides its workers with protection against the unpredictable financial hazards of illness. In two other respects also, the United States will apparently continue to lag behind Great Britain. There has been little discussion here of benefits to be paid women at marriage or at the birth of their children, and it appears that any assistance given to the parents of large families will be put strictly on a relief basis. The problem of removing the stigma of pauperism from the children of such families has never been faced squarely here.

On the other hand, previous reports of the National Resources Planning Board make it clear that the board conceives of its social-security plan as but a small part of a sweeping program for maintaining full employment in the post-war period. This larger program—calling for a gigantic permanent public-works scheme, city and regional planning, and river-basin development—is much more audacious than anything yet proposed in Britain. With all honor to Beveridge, we must not overlook the fact that Americans too have the vision to plan for a juster form of social organization after the war. We can only hope that the American program will receive as favorable response in Congress as Beveridge's plan is apparently receiving among members of Parliament.

Roosevelt and Willkie

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

OF COURSE Willkie has a terrific advantage. He is not an official; he is not even—for the moment—a candidate. He is not burdened with the necessity of waging a war; of making acts square with words; of being saddled with decisions made by cautious, pussy-footing bureaucrats; of holding reactionary party machines in line; of not offending religious-political factions; of placating labor and business and all the groups that have votes or money. Willkie today doesn't even have to listen to campaign managers—the fellows who took advantage of his inexperience in 1940 and turned him into a stumbling, unsure caricature of himself. Willkie may still aspire to the shackles of high office, but if so he has apparently decided to kick aside the compromises and timidities that usually pave the political highroad. Today he is a free man.

The President, on the other hand, is hedged about with all the limitations that responsibility entails and some others invented by himself. His words are carefully adjusted to political and military considerations. His most important acts have to be carried out in secrecy. He cannot take an open stand on matters of policy that remain undecided. If he disapproves of an official British position he must not say so. He must accept blame for many an American policy he has had little hand in making and may privately detest. The President is not a free man.

He is not, in my opinion, as free as he could be. Too often he equivocates, dodges, parries when he could easily give the public what it so deeply craves—a forthright explanation. His actions, too often, make hash of his words, and people are left a prey to a sense of insecurity and doubt. Why does the President tolerate the sinister octopus-control of Jesse Jones over so many economic agencies? Why has he allowed business reactionaries—equally bitter enemies of his whole New Deal program—to occupy key positions in the war economy? Why does he intrust to a typical diplomatic stuffed shirt like Phillips the delicate job of representing our position in India? Apparently he still believes the deal with Darlan a profitable one. But why, if this is so, does he permit worldwide suspicion and resentment to be multiplied by our failure even to bring about the release of anti-Nazi political prisoners in North Africa?

These are only a few specific items that illustrate the degree to which the President has allowed himself to be unnecessarily enslaved by his office. The result is becoming increasingly evident every day.

Popular leadership is slipping out of Mr. Roosevelt's hands. His words are losing their magic. While the reactionaries gather in enough votes to shift the balance of power in Congress, uneasy liberals begin to crystallize around Mr. Willkie. His freedom and boldness, his unequivocal support of the Four Freedoms and his readiness to apply them all over the globe, his open repudiation of the reactionary tendencies in our foreign policy—all these have met a popular response that carries with it a lesson the President should be the first to profit by.

For it is hard to believe that Mr. Roosevelt will lightly surrender to Wendell Willkie his hold on the imagination of the common man of this country and the world. He cannot afford to act the part of a stiff, cautious official and give Willkie the role of Hero of the People. If he does he will not only sacrifice his own and his party's future ambitions, but, paradoxically, he will weaken his own present position. For the President of the United States in time of war is also the leader of the people—or he is not a fit President.

Mr. Roosevelt faces the necessity of regaining the ground he has lost. He must take the risks of a counter-offensive against the reactionaries who have forced him into retreat. On a policy of evasion, caution, Darlanism, Ottoism, he will continue to lose to Willkie on the one hand and to his right-wing enemies on the other. To sacrifice liberal principles and the essence of the New Deal will serve the President no better than the sacrifice of Czecho-Slovakia did Chamberlain. Only a clear democratic policy and a hard fight will preserve the President's leadership in the months to come—and in 1944.

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The Anti-Wallace Plot

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 13

THANKS to the vigorous position taken by Vice-President Wallace and Milo Perkins before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, the Danaher amendment to restore the power of Jesse Jones over the purchase of critical materials abroad has been blocked. After the hearing, which was held in executive session, Senator Wagner, the committee's chairman, asked Senator Danaher, "What do you think of your amendment now?" "Don't call it my amendment," was the aggrieved reply. The Senator from Connecticut, who is not a Republican of the diehard variety, has been apologizing to friends that this was a party measure handed him by the minority leader, Senator McNary.

Last spring, with elections coming on, the Republicans were virtuously critical of Jesse Jones's handling of rubber and his unfairness to small business. Now, with the elections past, the minority party and the Administration's most powerful officials have been plotting to overrule the White House executive order of last April 13, which shifted final authority over stockpile purchases from Jones to Wallace and the Board of Economic Warfare. The order was issued when Jones's stinginess and procrastination became too obvious to be overlooked by the President, an experienced overlooker where Jones is concerned. According to one report, Jones had spent only $3,000,000 of a $500,000,000 fund given him by Congress a year and a half earlier for the purchase of badly needed war materials. I cannot vouch for the figures; much of what Jones and the RFC do is a military secret. The impression conveyed by the figures, however, is certainly correct; yet McNary indicated that if the Danaher amendment were adopted he would also seek to restore Jones's power to veto proposed expenditures by WPB, the Maritime Commission, the Petroleum Coordinator, and the Rubber Director. This would be worth several divisions to our enemies. "But Jesse," Donald Nelson was once heard to exclaim despairingly on the telephone, "there's a war on." Jones would rather lose a battle than a haggle.

Fortunately the Texan is so accustomed to the hat-in-hand humility of applicants for loans as to be thrown off balance in encounters with mortals who do not need to borrow money from him. He gets as flustered in a fight as the town banker jostled by the town drunk. Last winter he was so upset by a critical editorial in the Washington *Post* that he punched its publisher in the eye. Lately he has become a constant contributor of protesting letters to the Washington Merry-Go-Round, an unprofitable occupation. In his private appearance before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee two weeks ago Jones made the lordly error of neglecting to brush up on his facts before inciting its members to riot against the BEW. His characteristic mixture of insolence and ignorance might have succeeded if Senator Wagner had not insisted that the committee hear the BEW's side of the story. Jones's picture of how the BEW and its director, Milo Perkins, operate turned out to be so childishly and patently untrue that Jones's Senate supporters felt that he had left them out on a limb.

Jones charged that BEW expenditures were not audited. Perkins showed that all actual spending, though under BEW directives, was by the RFC and that the RFC knew where every nickel went. Jones pictured Perkins as a one-man director. Perkins showed that the Board of Economic Warfare, containing top representatives of State, Treasury, War, Justice, Navy, Agriculture, Commerce, WPB, Lend-Lease, and Inter-American Affairs, meets at least every two weeks for a full discussion of its activities. The board differs considerably from the hand-picked boards of yes-men who run the RFC and its subsidiaries. Jones complained that the executive order giving the BEW and Perkins power to direct RFC expenditures for critical materials was unprecedented. Perkins showed that it was, comma for comma, the same as that which freed Nelson from financial dependence on Jones. Perkins pointed out that he had only used this power three times. Wallace interrupted to say that Perkins should have used it more frequently. "In the future," the Vice-President said, "let's have more fights and fewer shortages."

It would be a mistake to believe that the attempt to hamstring the BEW is over. It would also be a mistake to believe that this is merely a conflict between Jones and the BEW. Behind Jones is the State Department, and behind the State Department are those forces, clerical and capitalist, which have no intention of letting this era become, in Wallace's phrase, the Century of the Common Man. Only a few weeks ago mining interests which operate in South America held a private powwow to discuss means of combating the labor and health clauses which the BEW has begun to put into all contracts for the purchase of supplies in Latin America. There is a good practical argument for these clauses, and the Senate Banking and Currency Committee found it impressive. But the mere fact that they will enable us to obtain more war materials is not enough to down the horrid suspicion that these clauses may also help to create a more decent world.

Not that the BEW is a particularly radical organiza-

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tion. Its export office is headed by a former General Motors executive, its import office by the former operating head of a big New York importing house. But the BEW is Wallace's original idea; as its chairman he has power to overrule the other Cabinet members who sit on it. The BEW reflects Wallace's progressive and humane outlook, which happens also to provide a very practical approach to the problem of increasing Latin America's output of badly needed materials. Whether in the rubber-bearing jungle, in the mine, or on the plantation, Latin American production is hampered by bad and unhealthy working conditions. Months ago Department of Agriculture agents in Brazil were warning that Adam Smith economics would not work in the jungle, that a mere increase in the price of rubber would not necessarily increase the output of latex, that the key lay not so much in higher prices for the owners of vast jungle lands as in assuring native labor of decent food, fair play, and quinine. Rubber, though the most dramatic example, is not an exceptional case. The widespread silicosis which interferes with maximum production of tin and copper in Latin America is another example of the need for social reforms to combat a shortage of materials. This New Deal approach is, of course, foreign to the State Department. I am told that in Bolivia, where the Congress recently passed a law to combat silicosis, the American ambassador brought pressure on the President to veto it.

Contrary to the popular impression, Latin America has some of the world's most advanced labor and social legislation. In the past this legislation has been kept innocently confined to the statute books. In most Latin American countries powerful American and British corporations, with the backing of State Department and Foreign Office, have been able to ignore these laws, though they occasionally pay fines, like the madams in a red-light district, to help the police keep up appearances. Now another agency of the American government, the BEW, is inserting in raw-material contracts clauses requiring contractors to obey all labor and social laws and also to embark on specific programs for the improvement of health and sanitation. The cost of these is borne directly or indirectly by the BEW, but the companies operating in Latin America are thinking ahead to the peace. Can the old conditions be restored after the peon has had a taste of better things? Will labor costs go up permanently? True, a higher standard of wages and living for the Latin American masses would also provide a better market for the North American exporter, but that horizon is too broad to fit into the bookkeeping of United Fruit or Anaconda Copper. The State Department has accepted these labor clauses, but Jones could put a stop to them if his old power over BEW expenditures were restored.

The BEW has also been annoying the State Department in North Africa. Recently, at a State Department meeting, with BEW representatives present, A. A. Berle accused the BEW of causing the death of American soldiers by holding up certain shipments to Africa. Dean Acheson on that occasion defended the BEW. Berle said he had a letter in his pocket from an American general to prove his statement, but failed to produce the letter when challenged. Inquiry brought a denial from military authorities, who praised the BEW's work in North Africa.

The BEW seems to have objected not to dealings with Vichy but to letting Berlin profit from such transactions. The existence of the BEW meant that an independent and progressive agency of the government was in a position to know what was going on. The facts it made available to inner Administration circles did not reflect credit on either the astuteness or the efficiency of our diplomats.

Vichy promised us not to ship molybdenum or cobalt from North Africa to Germany, then made a deal to send 3,000 tons of cobalt ore to the Reich, enough to cover Hitler's deficit in this essential material for the production of synthetic oil. On one occasion Vichy dispatched a destroyer to scare off a British submarine that tried to stop a shipment of cobalt in a French ship. Shipments of American oil to North Africa under the Weygand-Murphy agreement of February, 1941, were used to produce minerals for the Reich and to replace oil sent to Libya. The French embassy in Washington at one time admitted deliveries of 3,600 tons of lubricating oil, motor oil, and aviation gas from North Africa to the Axis forces in Libya. In some cases American supplies went directly to Rommel. By March, 1942, the situation was so bad that Leahy informed Pétain that the United States was discontinuing shipments because Vichy had broken its promises by sending food, fuel, and trucks to Libya. In June the State and War departments wanted shipments resumed, but only of food. As late as August Murphy reported that Vichy was ready to supply no more cobalt for export, except to Germany. There was criticism by the BEW of the way food, cotton, and sugar were distributed in North Africa. One United States consul reported that distribution and propaganda work were so poor that Arabs often thought the goods they were getting were of Portuguese or German origin.

The State Department wants no surveillance by progressives, especially when, as in North Africa today, we begin to mold the future shape of Europe. So long as the BEW controls exports and imports it may feed and supply populations unwilling to accept State Department decisions on their destiny. The BEW must be got out of the war before peace comes, lest the old order for which the State Department stands be endangered. The Metternichs are ganging up on the BEW because the BEW is Wallace, and Wallace is the champion of the common man.

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Dynamite in South Africa

BY J. P. COPE

Johannesburg, S. A., November 12

ON THE day that Lincoln MacVeagh, new United States Minister to South Africa, presented his credentials to Governor General Sir Patrick Duncan, the Nationalist press of the Union carried a warning against the so-called peril of American "imperialistic designs" on Africa. The attack was directly in line with an anti-British, anti-Russian, anti-American, and anti-pan-African campaign that has been raging on Nationalist platforms for months past.

I asked an American acquaintance who has lived here some years how he felt about the latest outburst against his country. "Quite frankly, I don't understand it," was his reply. "Nationalists I know are always very decent to me. I thought Americans were popular among them as a sort of counterblast to the British."

This incident is an excellent illustration of how hard it is for the casual observer to understand, or even to discover, the many cross-currents that agitate the troubled politics of South Africa. For one thing, the average English-speaking South African or visitor doesn't bother to read the Afrikaans press. For another, there is a fairly sharp division of sentiment and outlook between town and country, and Nationalism has its greatest strength in the country—the *platteland,* as the backveld is generally referred to in a political discussion. To most English-speaking townsmen the *platteland* is a mysterious, illogical, and perverse domain somewhere over the blue fringe of distant hills.

The present government in South Africa is a coalition made up of the United Party, led by General Smuts, the Labor Party, and the Dominion Party. The United Party is the strongest political group in the Union and has eleven out of the thirteen members of the Cabinet. The Labor and Dominion parties have one minister each. Labor has never recovered from the decline which began in 1924 when the party entered a pact with the Nationalists under General Hertzog, and it is now a political force of little consequence or future. With the present wave of sympathy toward socialism induced by the war, it has made strenuous efforts to regain lost ground. To some extent it has succeeded. But the party has failed to adopt a realistic policy toward the black natives and clings stubbornly to the color bar. After the war the native question will undoubtedly become the greatest political issue in South Africa, and Labor will miss the bus unless its present platform is changed in radical and wholly unlikely directions.

Even less promising are the prospects of the Victorian and conservative Dominion Party. Its members refuse to accept the constitutional evolution of South Africa from a segment of the "empire" to a sovereign independent member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. They have no positive program of social reform, have not made up their minds on native affairs, and sponsor an anti-Asiatic agitation in the province of Natal. But for the outbreak of war and a wholly fortuitous offer of a seat in the coalition Cabinet, the party would in all probability have died a natural death before now.

The coalition government can count on a clear majority of 19 in the Parliamentary Assembly of 153. The anti-war, bitterly hostile opposition to the government consists of the Nationalist Party under Dr. D. F. Malan, a "New Order" group headed by the openly Germanophile Oswald Pirow, and the Afrikaner Party, whose patron-in-chief is the ex-Premier, General Hertzog.* But significant political changes have occurred since the last general election was held in May, 1938, and Parliament no longer accurately reflects sentiment in the Union. One political faction that has played a stormy role since the outbreak of war—the Ossewa Brandwag—is not officially represented at all.

The Ossewa Brandwag is a secret society organized on the Nazi cell system. It sprang from the centenary celebration of the Great Trek of Boers in 1838 from the Cape into the then almost unknown hinterland of southern Africa. This centenary celebration was marked by great fervor among Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, who constitute 55 per cent of the Union's population of European stock. The Ossewa Brandwag was at first intended to be a cultural movement to further Boer tradition and the Afrikaans language, but it quickly took on a political complexion. After the outbreak of the war it became a South African counterpart of the Irish Republican Army and soon gained a large following among younger and more radical Afrikaners, particularly in the northern provinces.

Dr. Malan's Nationalist Party, to begin with, regarded the Ossewa Brandwag with kindly eyes and gave it all assistance. Later, however, a cleavage developed between the Brandwag and the party. Dr. Hans van Rensburg, an ardent admirer of Herr Hitler, resigned his post of Administrator of the Orange Free State to become Führer of the Ossewa Brandwag, and reorganized the move-

* General Hertzog died on November 21, shortly after this article was written.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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ment on militant Nazi lines. Shock troops, or *stormjaers*, were formed, and drilling took place by night at secret rendezvous in the country. Plots were laid to seize post-offices, radio stations, telephone exchanges, and other state buildings in Johannesburg and the important port of Durban. The government acted in time, and many arrests occurred—a fair percentage of them in the police force. There followed a succession of dynamite explosions, attempts to wreck trains, cutting of telephone wires, the blasting of a water main, and other sabotage. An event which caused much excitement throughout South Africa was the planting of fire-bombs at a big Johannesburg exhibition in aid of war funds, with the resultant destruction of the Danish pavilion.

Less radical elements among the Nationalists became alarmed at the violent turn that events were taking. They pressed and carried a demand inside the party that some sort of control be imposed over the Ossewa Brandwag. Attempts were then made to reach an agreement with the Ossewa Brandwag which would leave the party supreme in the political field, with the Brandwag serving the republican cause as a militant private army. High policy would be decided by a joint council in which the party would have the deciding voice. The negotiations, however, proved abortive. Personal rivalries were too strong. The Ossewa Brandwag and the Nationalists then fell upon each other with the peculiar bitterness that so often characterizes a family quarrel, and the feud is now at its height. Oswald Pirow's "New Order" group has lined up alongside the Brandwag, and General Hertzog has given Pirow and Van Rensburg his blessing, though most of the members of his Afrikaner Party are drifting over to the Nationalists.

But this struggle between Dr. Malan's Nationalist Party on the one hand and the Ossewa Brandwag–"New Order"–Hertzog triangle on the other is apt to be deceptive. There are powerful affinities between these anti-government factions. They share the common aim of a republic independent of the British Commonwealth. They are prepared to admit to the privilege of citizenship only members of the *Afrikanervolk*. All other white South Africans would be tolerated merely as aliens, while immigration from abroad would be virtually banned, particularly in the case of Jews. They are united in their attitude toward the 8,000,000 non-Europeans (natives), who are to be kept in their place—politically powerless, socially segregated, economically restricted to unskilled work and low wages.

It requires only the action of a strong catalytic agent to combine the republican groups against the pro-Commonwealth, pro-Ally forces which at present govern South Africa. The political emergency of next year's general election might prove such an inducement. Or, perhaps, another "secret" and potent force not previously mentioned in this article—the Broederbond—might succeed with the unity drive it is vigorously conducting behind the scenes.

The Broeders are a sort of Afrikaner freemasonry whose members are drawn chiefly from the Afrikaner intelligentsia. They are bound by solemn oath to promote Afrikaner dominance within an independent republic. They hail from all parties and groups, from the civil service, the professions, and wherever Broeder influence can be brought to bear. Their members are selected by the Grand Council and are personally canvassed to join the movement. The Broeders influence the promotion of "the right people," meddle in the churches, intrigue within political and other organizations, and generally promote Afrikanerdom by every means at their disposal. The Broederbond has set itself to unite the currently warring forces which stand for an Afrikaner republic.

What of the United Party, at present holding the bastion for parliamentary democracy and the British Commonwealth connection? The outlook for the party is far from reassuring. It rallied behind General Smuts when the war crisis blew up in 1939, and, frankly, no other leader in South Africa could have achieved this. General Smuts handled the precarious situation in which he found himself with patience and outstanding skill, and his personal prestige has never been higher than it is at present. But the same thing cannot be said of the United Party as a whole. It is divided, broadly, into two schools of thought: the liberals, led by Jan Hofmeyr, and the conservatives. The liberals are pressing the campaign for emancipation of the 8,000,000 non-Europeans. They favor progressive socialist measures and frown on abuses of monopolistic control of various economic activities. They are pressing for dual medium education (English and Afrikaans) in the European schools. The conservatives have a far less progressive native policy and tend to serve vested interests, both mining and agricultural. They view with alarm the world march of socialism and were generally pro-Chamberlain on the Munich issue. The question is whether these two wings of the United Party may not split apart after General Smuts has retired from the political scene.

As to the coalition government, there have already been signs of restiveness on the part of Labor, and it is doubtful whether the partnership will survive the war. Further, the United Party must inevitably suffer with the general political reaction that will occur when the soldiers return and South Africa has to make the difficult readjustment back to a peace-time economy.

What the next few years hold is extremely difficult to foresee. All that can be said with any certainty at the moment is that we are heading for a period of political confusion in which present groups and personalities are likely to disappear and new political forces to come upon the scene. During the next decade Nationalism will

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make its supreme bid for an Afrikaner republic. Among non-Europeans the struggle for influence will be between the Communists, who are quietly organizing in many directions but have so far not greatly impressed the majority of natives, and the liberals of the United Party, led by Jan Hofmeyr. The main hope for South Africa is that out of the coming confusion may arise an overwhelming desire for greater cooperation between Afrikaans- and English-speaking people, with recognition of the right of the non-European to a place in the African sun.

Jim Crow and Casey Jones

BY SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

ON DECEMBER 3 the chairman of the War Manpower Commission, Paul V. McNutt, told 400 railway executives that the railways must stop discriminating against Negroes and women in hiring workers. If the employment practices of many roads were extended to industry generally, he said, "millions of American Negroes, instead of turning out the ships, shells, planes, and guns America needs for victory, would be immobilized for the duration of the war."

This warning, interestingly enough, comes at a time when the Negro train firemen are preparing to appeal to the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee against practices intentionally designed to immobilize them not only for the duration of the war but for ever, so far as their own trade is concerned. On January 25-27, in the second year of a war which urgently requires a total mobilization of resources and skills, they will submit to the committee evidence to show that, through various agreements either public or secret between the Southern carriers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Negro firemen are being systematically excluded from railway employment.

Exclusion is, of course, no war-time measure. It is a long-established policy of the Railway Brotherhoods to drive Negroes out of all jobs considered desirable by white men. The history of this policy is not pleasant; it is marked by strikes, violence, and intimidation of Negro workers.

In the early days of railroading the majority of switchmen, brakemen, and firemen on Southern roads were Negroes, employed, as the companies frankly admitted, because Negro labor was cheap. The white railway unions, being prevented by their race prejudice from organizing the Negro workers, were unable to cope with the depressing effect of Negro competition on their own wage scales. The alternative to organization was the exclusion of Negroes from jobs wanted by whites; and the unions have worked toward this end with all the means at their command.

During the First World War the job was almost done for them. The mushroom defense industries, with their high wages, attracted large numbers of the underpaid Negro railwaymen; it looked as if they were going to eliminate themselves from railroading. But the carriers, their load greatly increased by the demands of war transportation, could not spare so many skilled workers; and the National Railway Administration halted the Negro exodus by equalizing the pay of whites and Negroes. "An act of simple justice," Secretary McAdoo called it, and of course it was. But it was to promote injustice on a grand scale. For it removed the incentive of the railway managements to defend the employment of Negro workers, and thus paved the way for their elimination from railway jobs by the peaceful and apparently legal method of negotiation between carriers and unions.

One might think that the colored railwaymen would have something to say about the agreements which are depriving them of their seniority rights and even their means of livelihood. The fact is that they are never consulted about those agreements and do not even, in many cases, know what they are. They only know the results. Under the Railway Labor Act, as amended in 1934 and 1936, the Railway Brotherhoods assume the right to act as sole bargaining agent for Negro workers whom they exclude from membership. Imagine the wolf setting himself up as guardian of the vital interests of Little Red Riding Hood, and you will have an exact analogy with the current employment practices of the Southern roads as dictated by the Brotherhoods.

Typical of this guardianship is the "non-promotable" contract entered into in 1941 between the Southeastern Carriers' Conference, representing twenty-five Southern railways, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. Under the terms of this agreement "the proportion of non-promotable firemen and helpers on other than steam power shall not exceed 50 per cent." Promotable men are those in line for the position of engineer. Negro firemen have always been denied the right to become engineers, on the theory that it would be shameful for a Negro to hold a job which might put him in authority over white men. A few white firemen for one reason or another are non-promotable; but the measure is aimed at the Negro firemen. Superficially it would appear rather more than fair, since Negroes no

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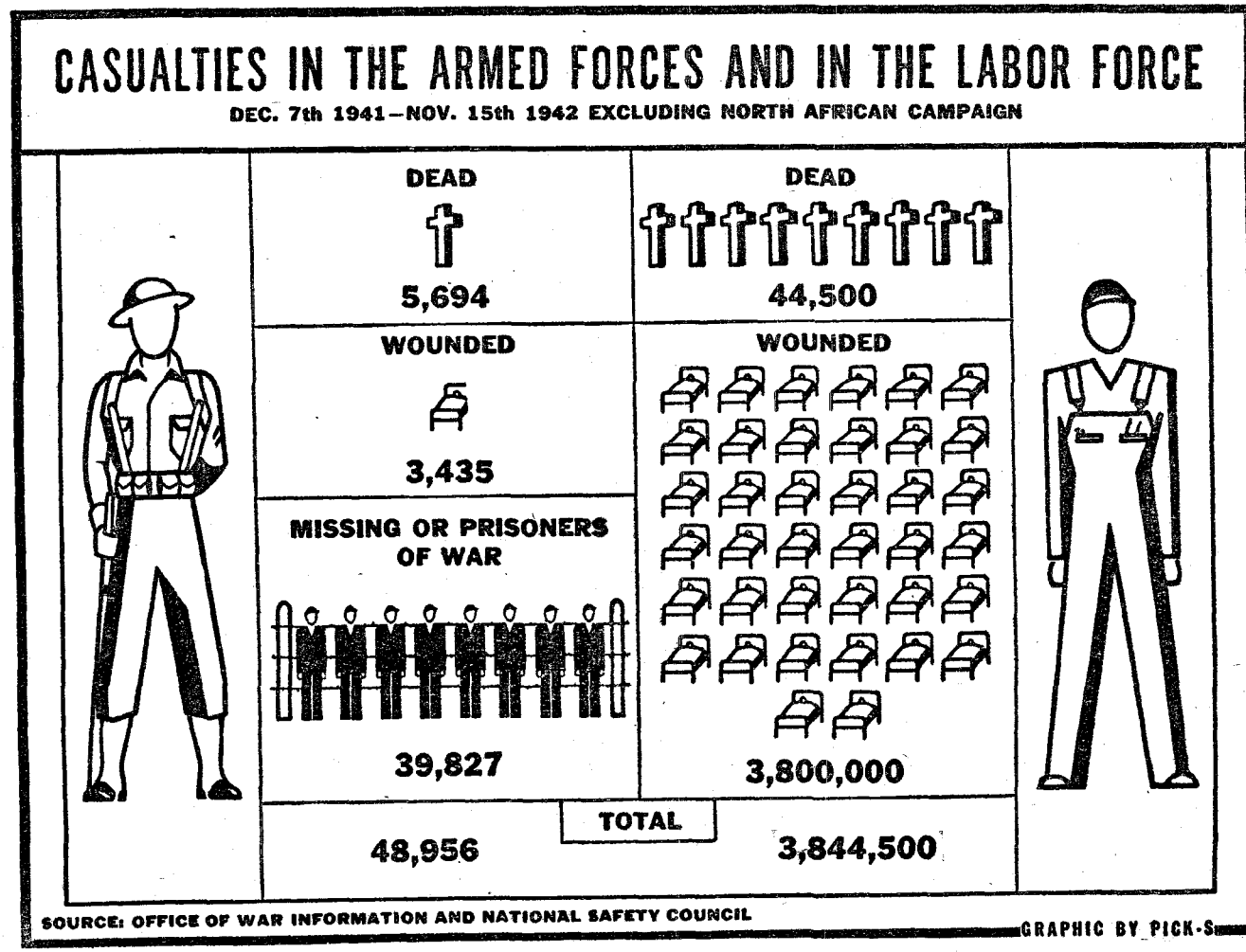
longer constitute 50 per cent of Southern firemen. But it contains several jokers. There is no minimum set for the percentage of non-promotable men to be employed on engines with other than steam power; only a maximum. Moreover, non-promotable men are explicitly banned from new areas. And finally the union reserves the right to negotiate agreements with the individual carriers restricting to promotable men employment as helpers on other than steam power—in other words, it reserves the right to exclude Negroes entirely.

The Negro firemen, being without union membership or any other means of checking on the Brotherhood's negotiations with the individual carriers, do not know what secret agreements have been made to restrict employment to promotable men. They do know that Negroes are being denied the right to learn to operate the Diesel engines which are steadily replacing steam; that in some cases they are actually called upon to train the white men who are to take away their jobs; that they are being taken off runs where Diesel or stoker-fired engines are introduced, without regard for their seniority rights. In short, they know the Brotherhood and the railway managements are using technological improvements to bring about the final elimination of Negro firemen.

The effect of the long union war on colored firemen is graphically illustrated by the shrinkage in their number. Even after the great exodus of Negroes from the railways during the last war, the number of firemen in 1924 was 6,478. Twelve years later it was only 1,243, and it can hardly have increased since. When one considers that the policy which is eliminating colored firemen extends to all categories of railway jobs considered desirable by white men, the loss to Negroes in jobs and income appears staggering. In the *American Federationist* of August, 1939, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, estimated the loss of railway jobs to black workers in the preceding quarter-century at 100,000, and the loss of income in twenty years, allowing an average wage of only $500 a year, at one billion dollars.

The Negro deprived of his seniority rights or his job has little hope of redress. An appeal to the management is likely to be returned with the recommendation that he present it to the local grievance committee of the union—which is like advising persecuted Jews to appeal to Hitler. If he can get his case before the National Railway Adjustment Board he is likely to meet with a refusal to hear it on the ground of no jurisdiction, as actually happened in the case of Ed Teague, displaced by a white fireman in disregard of his seniority rights



"While Our Boys Are Fighting Over There . . ."

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when a stoker-fired engine was introduced on his run. In any case, since half the board's members represent the carriers and are paid by them, and the other half represent and are paid by the Brotherhoods, the Negro who appeals to the board is appealing to the interests responsible for his predicament. There is ground for appealing to the federal courts to protect the Negro's constitutional property right in his job; but two courts have refused to accept jurisdiction in the Teague case.

All means of relief, then, seem closed to the colored railwaymen except appeal to the Fair Employment Practices Committee and to public opinion. The Provisional Committee to Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen, set up in 1941 by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, is doing both those things. Besides appealing to the committee, it has enlisted an influential citizens' committee, whose chairman is Mayor LaGuardia of New York and whose honorary chairman is Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, to support its claim for justice to Negro firemen in the court of public opinion.

The issue involved goes far beyond justice to this or that group of colored workers. It is quite simply the question whether America is going to treat its Negro minority as Hitler would, by imposing permanent economic and cultural inferiority upon them, or whether it will try to live up to the democratic principle of equal rights and opportunities regardless of race or color. The national Administration has shown its preference for the democratic way, but it will have to overcome such powerfully organized opposition as that of the Railway Brotherhoods if the democratic way is to prevail. Meanwhile, colored peoples all over the world are watching to see how well we live up to our claim to be the champion of freedom for all peoples, everywhere.

One War, One Command

BY GILBERT CANT

THE military developments which began with the Anglo-American landings in North Africa on November 7 show that cooperation among the United Nations has reached a point which only a few weeks earlier had seemed unattainable. They do not, however, indicate that we may now pause in our unsteady march toward over-all Allied planning, but suggest rather the urgent necessity of further progress. What may be regarded as the official military view that no over-all direction for the United Nations is necessary has been supported by reference to the success of the African operations. Undertaken with the knowledge of the Russians, these are said to prove that the great powers can coordinate their activities perfectly with existing machinery. This is the most specious kind of reasoning. It is true that the Anglo-American campaign in the Mediterranean basin was made known to the Russians in advance and was synchronized with Soviet offensives, but coincidence in time is by no means the same thing as joint planning. Secretary Knox has ridiculed the suggestion that the navy's offensive in the Solomon Islands delayed the opening of a "second front" in Western Europe. It can be argued, however, on the basis of facts which cannot be revealed, that the Solomons offensive was jeopardized by the drain on United Nations shipping imposed by the North African expedition.

When the question of a United Nations general staff or of a United Nations supreme command—the two should be carefully distinguished—is broached to high military officers, they usually change the subject by asserting that there is greater need for a worldwide political understanding, though naturally they can make no suggestion about how to achieve that infinitely desirable objective. One cannot say that high political officials show the same unanimity in advocating military unification first, but both groups emphasize the need for doing something else before attempting to obtain a united political front or a common military strategy.

Comparisons with the First World War do not help us much. There are certain similarities, but the differences are more noteworthy. In 1917-18, with Colonel House representing President Wilson in Europe, it was easy for the Big Four of the Allied statesmen to meet at frequent intervals. They did so, and formed the Supreme War Council. Out of this organization, which was originally political in character, there developed the supreme military command of Marshal Foch. But in the present conflict the United Nations are separated by greater distances and by more formidable concentrations of enemy strength than were the Allies of 1917. It might not be physically impossible for the Big Four of 1942-43 to meet on occasion, but it is certain that they could not meet often. In the meantime we have far from complete political agreement among the United Nations on the objectives of the war, the lines along which they intend to fight, and the kind of peace they want.

The Atlantic Charter and the agreement signed by the United Nations are noble in purpose but unenforceable in practice. They provide no machinery for joint operations in any field save that of wishful thinking. Before

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the people of America—one might better say the Americas—of the British Commonwealth, of Russia, of China, and of the conquered countries can be rallied with total effectiveness behind the war effort, they must be shown the end of the hard road they are asked to travel. Detailed peace terms are not needed at this stage. To try to formulate them now would gravely hamper military efforts. But there is urgent need for a general clarification of the goals our leaders are seeking. If they are not quite sure themselves, they owe it to their peoples to find out. Since Roosevelt and Churchill and Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek cannot all four be expected to meet, the two who cannot should delegate authority to make political covenants. The four powers could then be represented at a single conference and with spokesmen of the other United Nations could sketch the outlines of the new World Charter.

Such a conference might even make decisions of a military nature, though these would be exceedingly general in character. Simultaneously, there should be created a Great General Staff for the United Nations, to plan the execution of the over-all strategy decided upon by the heads of government. Considering the immense distances between the several theaters of war and the very different characteristics of the forces engaged, it is unlikely that a United Nations commander-in-chief could be named or, if named, that he could function effectively.

Until recently it was a commonplace in high military circles that the United Nations supreme command consisted of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. This was not an unmixed blessing, with the temperamental peculiarities of the two leaders such as they are. The situation has improved since the President appointed Admiral Leahy his personal chief-of-staff. Mr. Churchill insists on holding on to his post as Minister of Defense while carrying the oppressive burdens of the Premiership, but his influence on strategy is now less direct, because most British strategy must be harmonized with that of the United States. This is done through the Combined Chiefs-of-Staff Committee, which meets in Washington.

The success of the Combined Chiefs-of-Staff Committee in mounting the North African offensive shows that with adequate machinery the democracies can plan as well as the dictatorships. However, this campaign necessitated so many trips between Washington and London by the highest officials that the procedure could scarcely be applied to every local offensive of the United Nations.

It looks as if the purely American operation in the Solomon Islands was not adequately coordinated with the Anglo-American operations in the Atlantic. The number of transports and supply ships needed for Africa was so great—although probably not quite as high as the five hundred mentioned by Captain Lyttelton—that the Anglo-American shipping administrations stripped every other service to find tonnage. One-twentieth of the tonnage assembled for North Africa would have made it possible to send adequate reinforcements to Guadalcanal. It is clear that one of two things should have been done: either the Solomons offensive should have been postponed until more bottoms were floated, or the North African demands on shipping should have been pared by a small percentage.

Such problems confront us today in many theaters and will appear in increasing numbers now that we have taken the first step in a worldwide offensive. It is a question, for example, whether Australia can best be defended by sending heavy bombers to General MacArthur so that he can cut off the tips of the Japanese tentacles at Timor and Rabaul or by sending them to China, whence they can attack the industrial heart of the enemy and slash at his aorta—the convoy route past Formosa. Similarly, it is a question whether a Japanese invasion of the Russian Maritime Provinces can best be prevented by a counter-offensive based on the Aleutians, by island-hopping in the southwestern Pacific, or by the recapture of Burma.

For the resolution of all such questions, the United Nations need a Great General Staff much more urgently now than they did before the offensive period of the war started. Early in 1942 we had only to achieve tactical victories, as in the Coral Sea and at Midway, because the strategy was not of our making. Now we are launching a dangerous and decisive global offensive. We have seen that the United States and Britain are capable of effective combined staff work. We have seen what can be accomplished by unified command in an individual theater of war when the commander is a MacArthur, an Eisenhower, or a Wavell. The suggested conference of the heads of government of the great Allied powers should lay down a broad war-and-peace policy for all the democracies and obtain pledges that each of the participating governments will abide by and fully implement the decisions of a combined general staff.

Then the Great General Staff can be set up. It must have full information about the man-power and material resources of the nations it represents. Its members must command such confidence from their own governments and peoples that their decisions will be sure of acceptance and fulfilment. Each military member must be matched by a representative of the production services of his country. The United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China should have one military member each. A fifth should be elected by the rest of the United Nations.

The Russian position with regard to a Great General Staff is even less clear than the views of the other United Nations. Soviet propaganda agencies have fostered the idea that the Kremlin would welcome a supreme direction of the war, but the Kremlin itself has remained

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silent. Undoubtedly the Allied offensive in Africa will make for closer relations; they are as yet far from close enough. America and Britain have shipped to Russia enough tanks to equip twenty armored divisions—half of Britain's entire output for the last eighteen months—and more than 2,500 aircraft, without ever being informed what were the Russians' own resources. Despite generous remarks to the contrary by distinguished goodwill envoys, it can be stated categorically that the Russians have never told their allies what they had in hand or could produce; they have been precise only about what they wanted, and they have received as much of this as could be slipped past the German blockade in the Barents Sea.

If the war is to be won at a minimum cost of life and treasure, the Great General Staff must know not only the exact man-power resources, present and potential, of all the United Nations, but also their material resources, their supplies of weapons and raw materials. It must know in what theaters there are trained soldiers with insufficient equipment and in what others equipment is pouring from the factories but men trained to use it are lacking. It must deal with the problem of how a limited quantity of shipping can best be used to transport the most concentrated cargoes over the shortest routes. Unless the Russians cooperate more openly in making this possible, there is danger that certain elements in Washington will succeed in their plan to make this "an all-American war," one which will not be won until the American army and navy have been built up to such a strength that they can strike the decisive blows unaided. In the meantime our allies, not excepting Russia, would be bled white.

The Chinese would welcome a Great General Staff on which they would at last have equal representation with the other major powers. They were disappointed by the Anglo-American decision to concentrate on beating Germany before launching an offensive against Japan, and had to apply extreme pressure on the Western powers to obtain moderate assistance. They cannot be expected to fight an all-out war so long as they feel they are being neglected. How difficult it would be for the conquered countries, our Latin American allies, and the British dominions to agree on the fifth member of such a staff cannot be determined until they try.

The primary obstacles to the creation of a Great General Staff are the lack of a well-informed, articulate demand for one in the United States and Great Britain and the ambiguous relations of those nations with Russia. The initiative will not come from the armed forces. Few general officers in any service could subordinate their personal pride and loyalty sufficiently to welcome the idea. Those who have the vision are not in a position to speak, although they concede that the United Nations today are as greatly in need of unification as were the Allies in 1917. This issue is not like that of timing a second front, in which some civilians sought to usurp the functions of the High Command. It is in all truth a question which the people must decide, for it is the question of how—without prescribing details—and by whom—without naming individuals—their war effort shall be directed. The people can have what they will if they will it hard enough.

In the Wind

THE WAR LABOR BOARD has issued a definition of a department-store Santa Claus: ". . . the term bona fide Santa Claus shall be construed to include only such persons as wear a red robe, white whiskers, and other well-recognized accouterments befitting their station in life, and have a kindly and jovial disposition."

REMINGTON ARMS of Bridgeport, Connecticut, recently took over several floors in that city's largest hotel. In furnishing the new executive offices, the company got an A-1-A priority on wool for rugs.

BANNER HEADLINE in the Detroit *Free Press:* "Legislature's First Undertaking Will Be to Turn Clocks Back."

FROM THE ACCOUNT of General Franco's speech by the Associated Press: "Generalissimo Francisco Franco in a state speech told the nation today that the world had only the choice between communism and fascism and made it plain that in this choice he favored fascism. Generalissimo Franco carefully refrained, however, from leaning one way or the other in his attitude toward the war."

AT A SOUTH DAKOTA training base a taxicab, parked just off the reservation, was ordered to move on by the colonel in command. When the driver refused, asserting his right to park where he pleased off army grounds, the colonel, according to the Sioux Falls *Argus Leader,* ordered a military policeman to "shoot out a tire" on the cab, which the M. P. promptly did.

MOTHERS OF AMERICA, organized as a ladies' auxiliary to the America First Committee, is still functioning. Its leader, Mrs. Agnes Watters, appeared recently before a Congressional committee to testify against the War Powers bill.

A METHOD of political warfare that was advocated in *The Nation* a short time ago is now in actual practice. In the October 31 issue Alix Reuther suggested that squads of radio technicians and speakers accompany invading forces and begin anti-Axis propaganda immediately upon landing. According to a New York *Times* story on November 24 this was done with marked success in Morocco and will henceforth be a regular phase of invasion technique.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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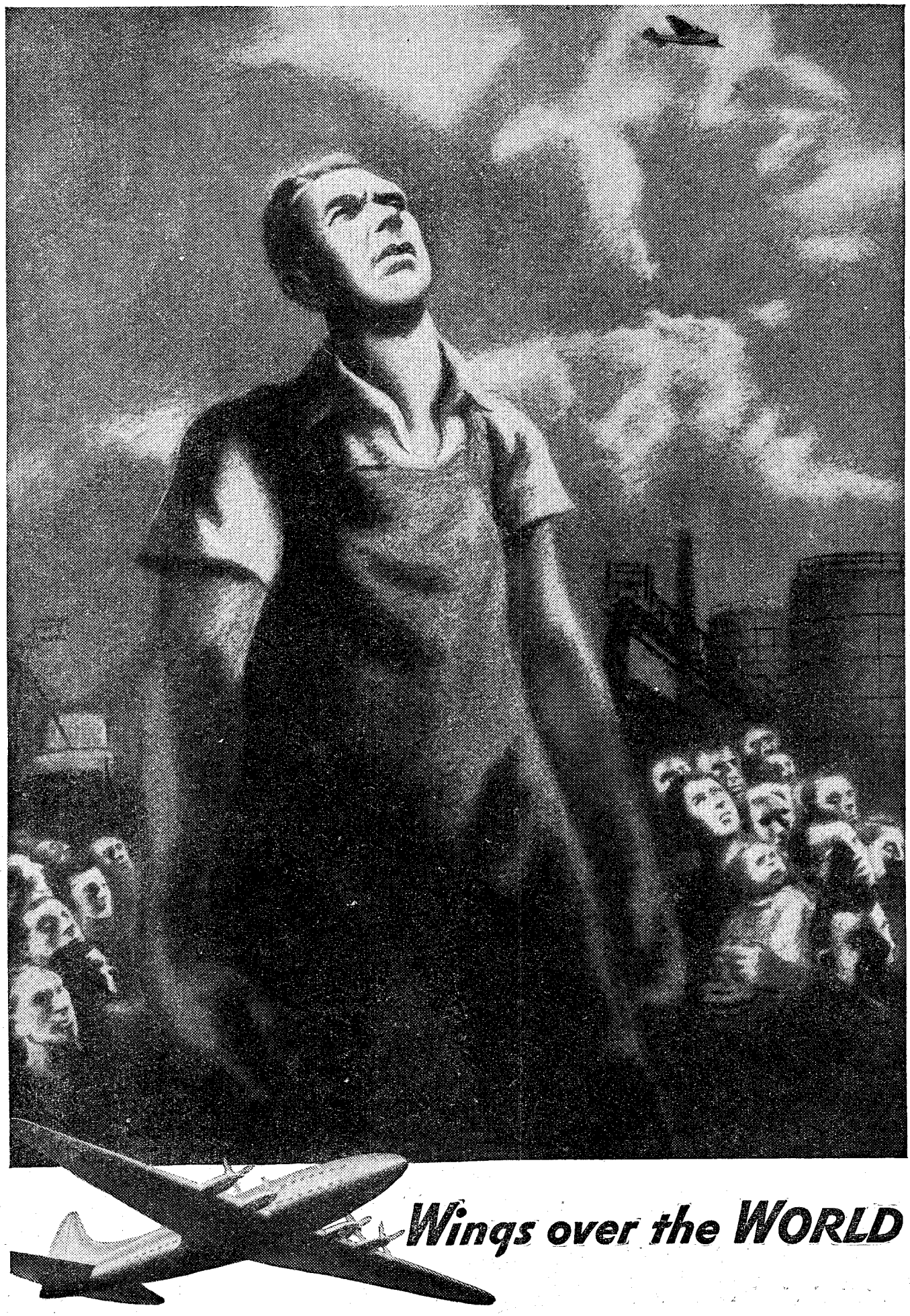

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"Their Sufferings Will Not Have Been in Vain"

by THE LEADER of FREE ITALIANS CARLO SFORZA (former Italian Foreign Minister)

What kind of post-war world are we fighting to create?

Pan American has presented answers to this question by such leaders of thought as Dr. John Dewey, Dr. Hu Shih and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Here Carlo Sforza, former Italian Foreign Minister and now leader of the FREE ITALIANS throughout the world, tells you what he sees—for the future.

THESE ARE TIMES when certain problems, once faced, are rapidly solved. During two thousand years, philosophers asserted that slavery was a "law of nature"; and yet more was done towards its abolition in the half-century around the American Civil War than in the whole preceding Christian era.

That is why I declared, in a recent speech at Montevideo, that the first duty of a free Italy will be "*ardent support of an organized world with no more place for the anarchical independence of the nationalistic States.*" I was not surprised when this statement met with cheers from Italians who had assembled to meet me from all parts of Latin America.

What is true for Italy, which has bitterly learned the folly of aggressive wars, is equally true for America. No American should forget that in the coming world even the Ocean will be no more than a big river; and that, if only for that, the era of isolation is gone forever. Those who cannot see this are like certain *dannati* in Dante's *Inferno*—people walking eternally with their heads turned backwards.

The highest duty of the present generation of Americans is to fight in order to make impossible a repetition of the Nazi-Fascist plot against peace. This American duty was foreseen by the Declaration of Independence when it stated in 1776: "*. . . that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive [of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness] it is the right of the People to alter or to abolish it.*" In Jefferson's mind, "*right*" meant "*duty*"!

War always means suffering. But our sufferings in this "toughest of all wars" will not have been in vain since we are beginning to learn:—

(a) INDIVIDUALLY: that Liberty is a right which must be won anew by the common people in each generation;

(b) NATIONALLY: that the previous complete independence of Nations must cease. They must submit to a superior international law which will make it impossible for peaceful nations to be again at the mercy of adventurers. Never again must it be possible for a Nation, having first destroyed Freedom at home, to prepare satanic aggression behind its closed frontiers.

We must resolve that frontiers will no longer mean what they meant up until 1939. I foresee a Peace Conference at which we might agree to draw in frontiers very lightly—with a pencil and not in indelible ink.

Sforza

THE DAY THAT VICTORY is earned by the United Nations, aviation must be ready to demonstrate that it is a great *con*structive, as well as a great *de*structive, force.

Air transport travel costs will, we believe, be brought within the reach of common men everywhere.

Two weeks' vacation in Italy? Certainly, since Rome will be only 16 hours from New York by air. Round-the-world air cruises in two weeks? Nothing will prevent them when Victory comes except the barriers of habit and disbelief.

When peace comes, Pan American looks forward to playing its part, through technological research as well as with trained personnel and flight equipment, in providing widespread distribution of the world's culture, science and goods.

Today, of course, everything that we can offer—one hundred and sixty-five million miles of over-ocean flight experience, trained personnel and service to over 60 foreign countries and colonies—is at work for the government and military services of the United States.

PAN AMERICAN WORLD AIRWAYS SYSTEM

PAN AMERICAN CLIPPERS

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"Fortress Europe"

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

A MONTH ago the term "Fortress Europe" meant nothing to American readers. Since then it has begun to crop out in the press and radio. William Shirer devoted one of his broadcasts to it. Argus has referred to it in these columns in connection with articles appearing in the German press. Before long Fortress Europe (*Festung Europa*) will be as familiar a term as Blitzkrieg or the second front.

Actually it was the Italian press which first launched the idea of Fortress Europe. Sometime last spring Giovanni Ansaldo, Mussolini's chief spokesman, published a series of articles presenting the theory of "besieged Europe" as an alternate way of winning the war. The preferred strategy would of course have been to carry the offensive to total victory. But Hitler's failure to subdue Russia plus the entry of the United States into the war obliged the Nazi leaders to revise their plans. For the Axis to have to accept a strategy of defense instead of continuing its Blitzkrieg must have been a bitter pill for Hitler and the General Staff. And so, as has frequently happened before, it was the Italian press which was chosen to familiarize the peoples of the Axis with the idea that to conquer Russia, to invade England, and later to engage the United States was not the only method of winning the war, but that it could also be won by means of a titanic defense which would ultimately exhaust the fighting strength of the Allies.

Once embarked on the new line, the German military writers and the services of Dr. Goebbels discovered that Fortress Europe contained powerful elements of conviction and propaganda. If, by building around the occupied countries a ring of steel against which the Allies would smash their heads and break their spears, resistance could be prolonged for several years, was it not possible that skilful political and diplomatic maneuvers, aided by the ever-present defeatists and pacifists, might induce Allied public opinion to give it all up and accept a settlement with the Axis?

This new orientation determines the course of events in North Africa—the stiffening of resistance at Tunis and Bizerte. Having renounced the offensive, Hitler must make sure of his defense: the first Allied assault on the steel ring must fail.

But that is not all. While the battle rages in Tunisia, all possible breaches in the walls and doors of the Fortress must be sealed. Thousands of German technicians and engineers have been set to work on the great task of securing its impregnability all the way from the French Mediterranean frontier to the coast of Norway. And at the same time a program aimed at the accumulation of foodstuffs and supplies of all kinds has been set in motion in order that Hitler may continue the siege for as long as his strategy demands.

ECONOMIC MEASURES

A new wave of requisitions has hit the occupied countries. The reason for this was discussed in Behind the Enemy Line on November 21. The food situation in Germany had deteriorated badly by the end of last summer. Even the German press admitted that the hopes centered in the east had failed to materialize. On October 7 the *Frankfurter Zeitung* said, "The southeastern states, from which people expected particularly abundant grain deliveries during the war, have not lived up to expectations by a long way."

While Hitler had spread out his war over the Balkans in order to get hold of the wheat and cattle of those rich agricultural lands, he could not command the harvests, which—whether because of nature or sabotage—in 1940 and 1941 were the poorest of the entire decade and in 1942 almost as bad. Not only the Balkans but Hungary too, of which much was expected, proved a disappointment. According to the Hungarian Institute of Economic Research, the harvest in that country was also below average.

To improve conditions, rations have been reduced and stricter regulations for grain deliveries imposed on the peasants. Bread rations are very small indeed; in October there were breadless days. The Hungarian daily ration is 200 grams (3½ ounces); the Slovakian, 134 grams; the Croatian ration for townspeople 150 grams; Bucharest, 250 grams; in Bulgaria the peasants' ration, originally 250 grams, has been cut by more than 50 per cent.

A new method for forcing deliveries of foodstuffs from the rural districts has been introduced in Hungary and Bulgaria in the past few weeks. From now on the rate of deliveries will be fixed not in proportion to the size of the harvest but to the number of acres owned. The reform is evidently meant to counteract the passive resistance of the Balkan peasantry, which has tended to reduce agricultural production to a level that left no surplus for export. Now under threat of penalties the peasants will be forced to conform to a certain minimum output.

The curious fact is that Germany's satellites have been

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losing their economic value in the measure that they have been turned into military assets. Germany approaches them with conflicting demands. They are asked to perform a miracle which even the Third Reich cannot produce: to fight for their master and to feed him at the same time.

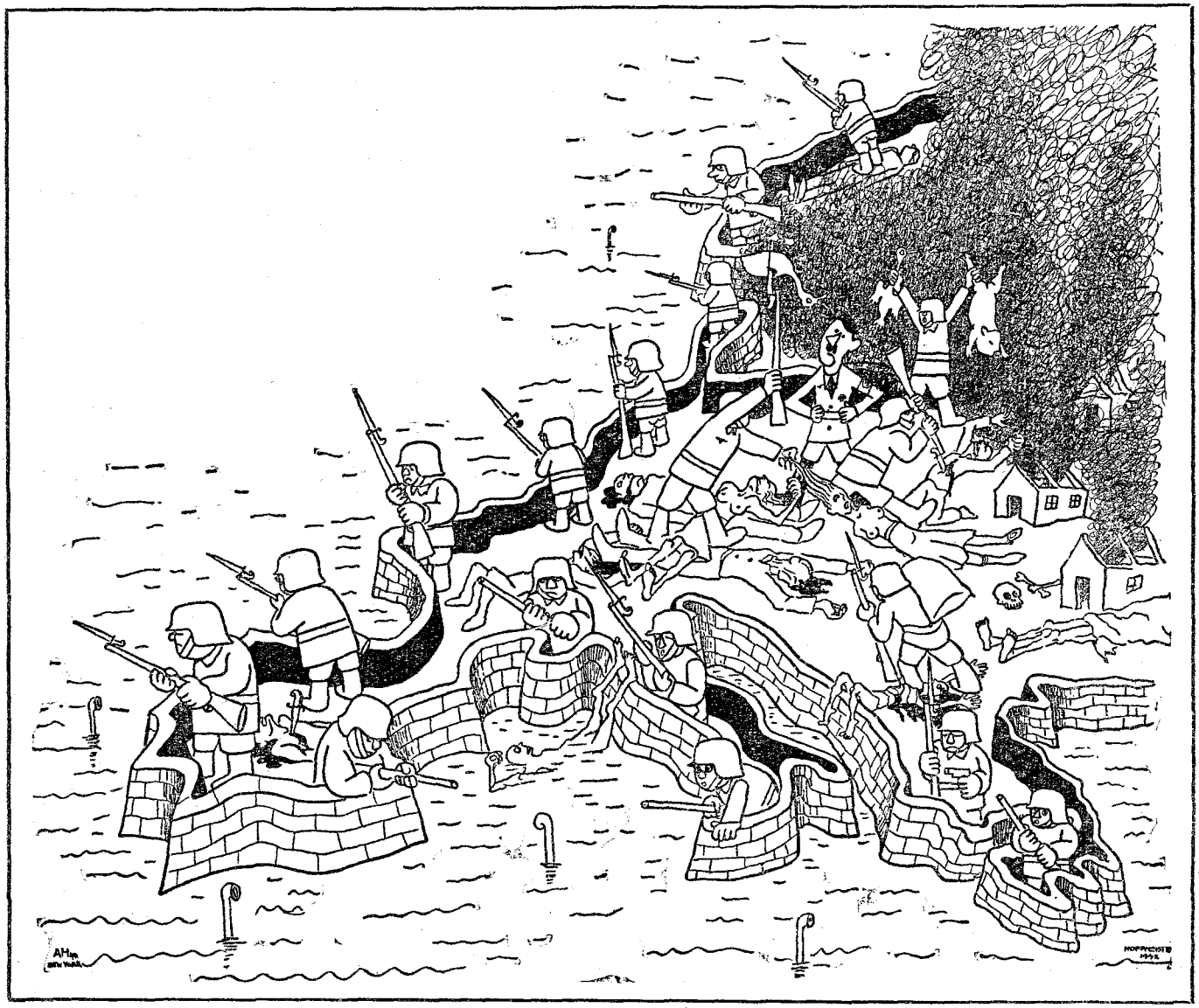
PLUNDER IN THE WEST

Göring's slogan "German bellies first" was coined to good purpose. If the siege of Fortress Europe is to be of long duration, every non-German must be subjected to a hunger diet.

Consequently the plundering of the West will be pushed to the limit even if it costs the lives of every human being who cannot be used as slave labor. The exploitation of the occupied countries is nothing new; it has been going on since 1940. What is new is the appearance in the German press of stories revealing the extent of the plunder. A recent discussion of Belgian foreign trade gave a glimpse of how the economy of an occupied country is adjusted to Nazi needs. In the year before the war Belgian exports to Germany formed 12 per cent of its total foreign trade; by 1941 the figure had reached 72 per cent, the bulk of it food and cattle. In the last three months Belgium has been drained down to its last pound of meat and its last quart of milk.

In Denmark not less than 75 per cent of all food is earmarked for Germany. A census has provided the Nazi authorities with figures on the exact holdings of every farmer. Crops and stock are requisitioned accordingly. If a farmer does not turn in his share he is haled before a local court presided over by a Nazi *Gauleiter* and heavily fined. Sometimes his stock is confiscated. But he is never imprisoned—he is too valuable as a slave worker.

Every man and woman in the occupied countries is now used to make good the losses of the past three years. These losses have been enormous, in men as well as in material. However, the importance of the loss in manpower should not be exaggerated. Though probably Benes was right when, in a recent broadcast to the Czech people, he said that "four million German soldiers had been killed or put out of action by the end of August of this year," the experience of the past weeks shows



FESTUNG EUROPA Drawing by A. Hoffmeister

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that Germany still has huge numbers at its disposal. It has been able both to throw in enough divisions to slow the Russian offensive and to put up a strong resistance in Tunisia. Major General Joseph T. McNarney, Deputy Chief of Staff, made this point very clear when he put the number of men in the German armed forces at eight million, and added that "Germany apparently is able to sustain this total from replacements."

Replacements become easier as Fortress Europe succeeds in closing itself in. Take, for instance, the case of France. As long as half of France was unoccupied, there were many difficulties in the way of a full utilization of its man-power for the war industries of the Reich. In spite of the collusion between Vichy and the Gestapo, the Nazis could not recruit the desired number of workers. To let them go on working in France meant to risk not only sabotage but continued air raids on industrial plants—in which the Nazis saw the hand of the underground guiding the R. A. F. But with France entirely occupied and isolated, the chances for the movement of resistance have been greatly reduced. Though it may still be desirable from a military point of view to put Frenchmen to work in Germany, where they will be more out of reach of Allied bombers, the political difficulties will have been largely resolved.

The tightening of the ring around Fortress Europe makes possible a unification of the methods of repression and terror. And while the German army will have the job of defending the Fortress against attack from outside, the Gestapo and the Waffen S.S.—the new organization described in the last issue of this section—will repress mercilessly any attempt at an attack from within.

THE NEW BLACKMAIL

While Fortress Europe steels itself, the Goebbels machine prepares to tell the world what will happen if the ring is ever breached. Goebbels himself opened the campaign with his famous statement in *Das Reich:* "If the day should ever come when we must go, if some day we are compelled to leave the scene of history, we will slam the door so hard that the universe will shake and mankind will stand back in stupefaction."

Now this is by no means all bluff. On the contrary, I am convinced that when the Nazis are actually driven back toward their own frontiers they will carry out a scorched-earth policy beside which Russia's heroic self-destruction will pale. The German armies do not need Dr. Goebbels to tell them how. In the First World War, when they found it necessary to withdraw to the Siegfried Line, Hindenburg and Ludendorff drew around themselves a "zone of destruction" which left standing not a single house or a single tree. This time the armies will be instructed to kill as many people as they can. Already Dr. Goebbels's monstrous threat is being carried out against the Jews of Europe; it is estimated by the most careful and fully informed observers that a quarter of the Jewish population of Nazi-occupied countries has been wiped out by systematic and deliberate methods. Jews have not only been torn from their homes and occupations and allowed to starve to death by the hundreds of thousands in the new ghettos of Eastern Europe; they have also been slaughtered in a dozen hideous ways—by electric charges, by the injection of air bubbles into the blood, by exposure.

What has already been done will be multiplied to the point of extermination when Hitler, facing disaster, finally "slams the door." Perhaps the only hope of averting this wholesale horror, which will be visited on other helpless millions along with the Jews, is by an immediate counter-threat directed against the men responsible for these crimes. If the heads of the United Nations would join in a new statement addressing *by name* every military commander and Gestapo chief in every occupied region of Europe, telling each one that he will be held personally to account for the death of innocent civilians, the slaughter might be checked. And even if it were not, the peoples of Euroupe would at least know that their sufferings are understood and will be avenged.

But one need not minimize atrocities, present or future, to be conscious of the blackmail implicit in this new campaign. It is somehow reminiscent of the Nazi threat of "Czecho-Slovakia or war" in the fall of 1938. What Goebbels is preparing to say now must be something like this: "Either you stop at our gates or you will see Europe wiped out and your soldiers die by the million. If, on the other hand, you show yourselves reasonable, we can discuss as equals the arrangements for a new European order." But to be able to take this stand, the Nazis must not only make the Fortress impregnable but must see that it includes all Europe, from Spain to Scandinavia.

CONCLUSION

How a person reacts to "Fortress Europe" will depend on his outlook on the war. Some will hold that the whole thing will fall to pieces when the Allies are in a position to send bombers by the thousand to attack it night and day. Others will look upon it as a confession of defeat. My own belief is that Fortress Europe should be regarded with the greatest seriousness. Even at the start of the campaign in North Africa, I risked being a kill-joy to point out that Hitler was "still there" and that a rough road lay ahead. That is why the progressive elements in the United Nations cannot afford to yield an inch of ground to the reactionaries, who already begin to act as if the battle against the foreign enemy were won and they could safely turn their guns on the forces working for a democratic conduct of the war and a genuine people's peace. For now more than ever we need the confidence and the determination of the people if we are going to overthrow Fortress Europe, the gigantic Bastille of the Nazi world.

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Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE difference between a pitchfork and a spear is not very great. But the difference between a pitchfork and a machine-gun is enormous. And there we have the reason why the masses have become more and more powerless against a tyrannical government. In the relations between rulers and ruled technological progress has worked almost exclusively to the benefit of the rulers. The "scientific" apparatus by which modern dictatorships keep themselves in power is so much more than a match for the naked fists of the people that an old-style popular uprising has today become unthinkable. Modern dictatorships can of course be destroyed from outside, by foreign armies, but they can be destroyed from within only when their instruments of power no longer obey them. No contemporary dictatorship has yet had that experience. Every nation that in our day has allowed a dictatorship to be set up is still in bonds to it. Both the Italians and the Germans are caught in a trap from which they cannot possibly free themselves by their own efforts.

But have they actually the will or the desire to get free? Has not an intellectual and moral trap been set for them as well as a mechanistic one? And how firmly has this trap closed on the two peoples? Here the difference between them is tremendous. All reports agree that Fascism has lost almost all power over the minds of the Italians, whereas the power of Nazism over the minds of Germans is unimpaired.

In seeking the cause of this difference we must not overlook the fundamental fact that no two nations in Europe are wider apart in character and temperament. Both peoples accepted the dictatorship or helped to set it up, but there is a great disparity in their mental attitudes toward it. Among Italians the tradition of skepticism is strong. Among Germans there is a tendency to take things with deadly seriousness. You can't eradicate from the average Italian the conviction that all politics contain a big dose of high-class swindling and buffoonery, while the average German just as inevitably views the political struggle as one for *Weltanschauungen* and absolute truths. Even those Italians who worked with Mussolini seemed to wink at each other ironically; politics to them was a *combinazione* and 50 per cent humbug. The Germans who supported Hitler felt, on the contrary, that they were champions of a veritable paradise and defended their metaphysics with humorless fanaticism. The psychological trap caught the Italian people only by the hem of their cloak, but it snapped on the leg of the Germans.

Moreover, in the course of the war very different situations have developed at the northern and southern ends of the Axis. One partner has conquered a vast amount of territory, while the other has lost huge areas that once belonged to it. There is a greater disparity in the living standards of the two countries. And as the shirt fits closer than the coat, so food and shelter, in the last analysis, are more important than territorial gains and losses. The deterioration of the Italian standard of living during the war has been incomparably more severe than anything the Germans have experienced. It is often said that Italy is practically a subject country, and in truth living conditions in Italy are more like those in the conquered countries than in Germany. They are definitely worse than those that prevail in many occupied regions.

Let us compare the weekly allowances of certain basic foods in Germany, Italy, Belgium, and France. The "normal" consumer in those countries, according to current regulations, receives the following amounts—in ounces:

	Germany	*France*	*Belgium*	*Italy*
Bread	80	68	55	37
Meat	12½	6½–9	5	3½–5½
Sugar	8	4½	8	4½
Fats & oils	7	3½	2½	3½
Potatoes	157	varies	122	17½

Of course no comparison of this kind gives the whole picture. Potatoes, for example, play a lesser role in Italy than in the other countries; *pasta* and *risotto* partly take their place. If the Italian potato ration is only a fraction of the German, the macaroni and rice rations are somewhat larger. But they are not correspondingly larger. A rough estimate of the basic Italian ration today makes it about 50 per cent less than the German, which is itself decidedly inadequate, and about 25 per cent less than the miserable French or Belgian allowance. Clearly the Italians are living not only in the spiritual atmosphere of a conquered country but on the same material level—or below it.

The New "Fourth International"

THE Third International has faded into oblivion. On the other hand, the Fourth International has been very much in the limelight lately, even though this is the first time that it has been referred to by that name. We mean by it the Central Bankers' International, the Bank for International Settlements. . . . Rising above the petty quarrels of their respective nations, the Central Bankers are still firmly united in the Fourth International of Basel. It is true, they do not communicate with each other, though they have secured permission for their fellow-citizens on the management and staff of the B. I. S. to do so. . . . On the list of directors British names rub solemn shoulders with German, Italian, and Japanese names. The distinguished name of Mr. Montagu Collet Norman appears there along with that of his fellow-director Herr Walther Funk, German Minister of National Economy and chief inventor of the notorious Nazi "new economic order" for Europe.—*Time and Tide* (London).

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Spirit of Justice Holmes

MR. JUSTICE HOLMES. By Francis Biddle. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

FRANCIS BIDDLE has compressed into two hundred tightly and brilliantly written pages the biography of Mr. Justice Holmes, not only of the judge and philosopher, but of the man as well. The book has a flavor so like its subject that it seems autobiographical. Through well-chosen and short quotations from opinions or statements, we are impressed anew by the pointed brevity of Holmes's language, his facility of phrase, his apt metaphors and parallels, his direct and earthy thrusts of wit or sarcasm. The temptation is to lift from the book one quoted passage after another. And Biddle himself, no doubt affected by association with Holmes as his secretary and the many years of close personal contact, has so caught the spirit of Holmes that time and again when the author expresses a thought, we look for quotation marks.

In one of his earlier speeches Holmes referred to the "little fragments of my fleece that I have left upon the hedges of life." On his ninety-first birthday at a dinner of the Federal Bar Association in Washington, a note from the Justice read, "If I could think that I had sent a spark to those who come after, I should be ready to say goodby." At another he mentioned "the isolated joy of the thinker who knows that a hundred years after he is dead and forgotten men who have never heard of him will be moving to the measure of his thought." He often reminded us of the "historic continuity with the past" which he said was "not a duty, it is only a necessity."

This idea underlies a letter to Biddle's son in which Holmes said that he remembered his grandmother well and that she remembered moving out of Boston when the British troops came in at the beginning of the Revolution. Once Holmes mentioned a remark of Sidney Bartlett's, a great advocate at the Massachusetts bar. "Deacon Spooner died in 1818, aged ninety-four. I saw him and talked with him. He talked with Elder Faunce, who talked with the Pilgrims."

To Holmes no individual accomplished much except as a "ganglion" in the continuity of life. Thus Holmes carried on the thought of John Stuart Mill, who had carried on the thought of countless predecessors and in the same manner that Biddle will no doubt carry on the thought of Holmes.

A decision by Holmes on free speech in time of war (*Schenck* v. *United States*) is a guiding test of today. "The question in every case," he wrote, "is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. . . . It is a question of proximity and degree." John Stuart Mill in his essay on liberty, published in 1859, had said, "No one pretends that actions should be as free as opinions. On the contrary, even opinions lose their immunity when the circumstances in which they are expressed are such as to constitute by their expression a positive instigation to some mischievous act." And Mill used an example which also appears in our court records. "An opinion that corn dealers are starvers of the poor or that private property is robbery ought to be unmolested when simply circulated through the press but may justly incur punishment when delivered orally to an excited mob assembled before the house of a corn dealer."

We are not surprised when Biddle tells us that on graduation from law school Holmes, contemplating a trip abroad, asked his father to get from John Lothrop Motley a letter of introduction to Mill. The father wrote that his son, "now styled Lieutenant Colonel," wanted a "line of introduction." "I give his message or request without urging it. He is a presentable youth with fair antecedents and is more familiar with Mill's writings than most fellows of his years."

Holmes with his reasoned skepticism was not afraid of democracy or of social experimentation, and even though he mistrusted much of the legislation of his day, he insisted upon giving new ideas free play. As Biddle puts it, "The eternal struggle seemed to him the basis of life—and he was all for taking risks rather than weighing them." To him "the past was but a guide to the future, and the great problems were questions of here and now. . . . Holmes, with a healthy sense of the strong life of nature and the slow movement of history, though he had no belief in panaceas, had none in sudden ruin."

Here is the picture of the true liberal who said of himself and other judges, "We need education in the obvious—to learn to transcend our own convictions and to leave room for much that we hold dear to be done away with short of revolution by the orderly change of law." And life—"that is an end in itself, and the only question as to whether it is worth living is whether you have enough of it. . . . Life is painting a picture, not doing a sum."

Writings of and about Mr. Justice Holmes would make a good-sized library. To the general reader interested in the life, ideas, and writings of one of the greatest Americans of our time, this luminous presentation is a "must" book; no lawyer, proud of his profession, will need urging to partake of its delights.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

American Fairy Tale

THE ROBBER BRIDEGROOM. By Eudora Welty. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.

EUDORA WELTY'S little fairy-tale novel has been greeted with considerable reserve. The reviewers have given it the respect obviously due a book by the author of "A Curtain of Green," and they have expressed great admiration for its prose. But most of them have been disappointed, and some of them have attributed Miss Welty's lack of success to the impossibility or the impropriety of what she has tried to do. For "The Robber Bridegroom" translates the

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elements of European fairy tales into the lore of the American frontier—its princess is a Mississippi girl who gathers pot herbs at the edge of the indigo field, its mild father-king is a planter, its bridegroom with a secret that must not be pried into is a river bandit, its giant is the fabulous flatboatman Mike Fink, its Rumpelstilskinesque creature of earth is a white-trash boy, its spirits of air are Indians.

It seems to me that we cannot judge on principle the possibility or the propriety of this transmogrification. To be sure, there is a hint of quaintness in the conception; still, if it were well done it could be done, and if it has not been well done by Miss Welty it might yet be done by someone else who thought it worth trying. But what I find disappointing in the book is not its conception but its manner—exactly that element which has been generally exempted from blame, Miss Welty's prose. This is in the fashion of sophisticated Celtic simplicity—the jacket blurb speaks accurately of its connection with "The Crock of Gold"—and it aims at an added piquancy by introducing American idioms. It is sometimes witty, it is always lucid and graceful, and it has the simplicity of structure that is no doubt the virtue of modern prose. But its lucidity, its grace, and its simplicity have a quality that invalidates them all—they are too conscious, especially the simplicity, and nothing can be falser, more purple and "literary," than conscious simplicity. This is prose whose eyes are a little too childishly wide; it is a little too conscious of doing something daring and difficult. Miss Welty is being playful and that is perfectly all right, but she is also aware of how playful she is and that is wearisome. She has used the manner of a secret archly shared but (ah!) even more archly not shared, for although she seems to have attached no specific meanings to her fantastic episodes, the whole work has the facetious air of having a profound meaning for herself. In short, she has written one of those fabrications of fantasy which have so tempted two other gifted women of our time—Elinor Wylie with her "The Venetian Glass Nephew" and her "Mr. Hazard and Mr. Hodge," and Virginia Woolf with her "Orlando," very artful and delicate works, very remote and aloof, though passionately connected, in secret ways, with the lives of the authors themselves, and very exasperating in their inevitably coy mystification.

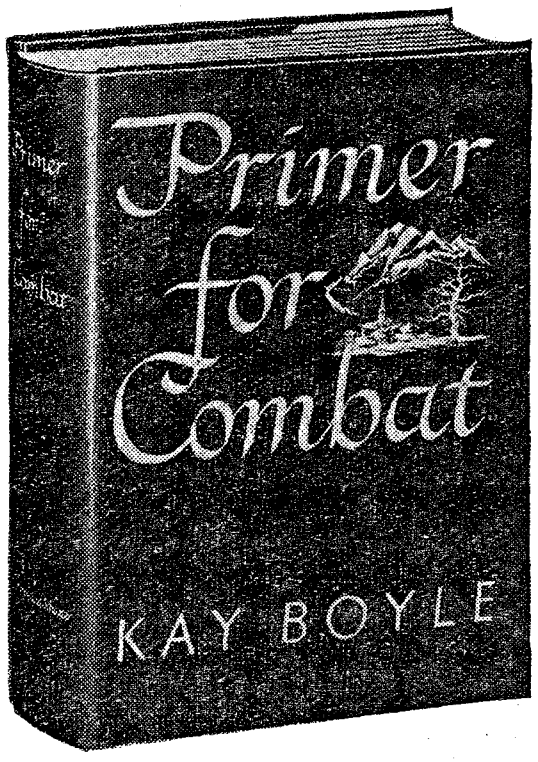
LIONEL TRILLING

"Proper Commanders"

LEE'S LIEUTENANTS: A STUDY IN COMMAND. Volume One: Manassas to Malvern Hill. By Douglas Southall Freeman. Charles Scribner's Sons. $5.

WRITING to General John B. Hood in May, 1863, General Lee said: "I agree with you . . . in believing that our army would be invincible if it could be properly organized and officered. . . . But there is the difficulty—proper commanders—where can they be obtained?"

This question is the core around which Dr. Freeman has organized his exhaustive study of Lee's principal subordinates. He is anxious to do justice to these men, unwilling that their deeds should fade from memory, but as a conscientious historian he is also bent on realistic appraisal of them, not as men, or even as soldiers, but as commanders in



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IN *Primer for Combat* Kay Boyle gives a brilliant, eye-witness report of how the Nazi conquest affected the daily lives of the little people of France who were her neighbors. This novel is a gallery of French characters—villagers, officers, tradespeople, brave men and cowards, each reacting in his human way to an overpowering catastrophe. Against this background is set the taut love story of an American woman living in France and a dazzling Austrian ski instructor in the Foreign Legion in Africa.

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the field. In spite of the enormous literature on the Civil War, this is a task which has not hitherto been undertaken by any Southern writer. One obstacle has been the myth that responsibility for Confederate failure could in no way be saddled on the men who fought in the war. As Dr. Freeman puts it, "All ex-soldiers were to be rated gallant and all officers able. . . . The sons and daughters of Confederate soldiers were reared in the unquestioning belief that Confederate generals were great warriors who would never have been defeated had not the odds been overwhelming. . . . Criticism was disloyalty. To mock was to betray."

Dr. Freeman does not mock, but he weighs the evidence impartially and his criticisms are often severe and occasionally caustic. Consequently he is performing a real service and one that has genuine relevance to our present problems.

What are the outstanding qualities necessary to high military command? To quote the author, they include "administrative skill and diligence, strategical and logistical sense, military imagination, initiative, resourcefulness, boldness coupled with a grasp of practicality, ability to elicit the best of men, and the more personal qualities of character, endurance, courage, and nervous control." This is a formidable list, and it stands to reason that the majority of good subalterns will be unequal to the responsibilities of generalship.

The Confederate army, however, had only a small cadre of professional soldiers on which it could draw. Consequently many who had previously commanded only platoons or companies soon found themselves in charge of brigades and even divisions. Some of them had had experience of actual fighting, but it was of a limited nature—the Mexican War or frontier campaigns against the Indians. This was inadequate preparation for handling masses of men in battles the scale of which rivaled or exceeded those of the Napoleonic wars.

Yet it was not always the men with the greatest pre-war reputations or the most experience who proved the outstanding leaders. Beauregard, whose professional standing was such that he was named superintendent of West Point in 1860, snatched victory from the jaws of defeat at First Manassas only to lose its fruits by failure to follow through —always a test of generalship. But his worst defects were his vanity and exhibitionism, which poisoned his relations with his military and civil superiors. As Dr. Freeman says, "His tongue was manifestly his ally; it was not equally apparent that his pen was his enemy." Another officer of rank whose ability in the stress of battle failed to justify his self-esteem was "Prince John" Magruder. In these pages we see him during the "Seven Days," racked with nervous dyspepsia, contributing greatly to the confusion of that campaign and little to its surprising and hardly deserved success.

The dominating figure in this first volume is, of course, "Stonewall" Jackson, who after distinguishing himself in Mexico had resigned from the United States army ten years before the Civil War broke out. Dr. Freeman sustains the accepted verdict on his Valley campaigns, though he points out a number of flaws that marred them as a work of military genius. But at Malvern Hill we leave Jackson with a slightly tarnished reputation owing to the unwonted sluggishness he had displayed during the "Seven Days." The question remains, to be answered in future volumes, "Can he work in harness?"

One thought arising from reading this book is that insufficient attention has hitherto been paid to the influence of the backward state of the art of map-making on the conduct of both sides during the Civil War. The Virginia campaigns were largely fought in blind country—in low land of tangled woods and swamps crossed by many farm tracks but few hard roads. Maps, thorough reconnaissance, and careful maintenance of liaison were all essential to the success of any concerted action. But again and again we read of elaborate combinations undertaken without the assistance of adequate maps by commanders completely ignorant of the ground they expected to fight on. At the headquarters conference prior to Malvern Hill, General D. H. Hill passed on a warning he had received from a native of the country about the natural strength of the Federal position. But it was laughed off, and Lee, lacking personal knowledge of the topographical features of the chosen battlefield, ordered a frontal attack which proved costly. Whether or not our present generals prove equal in strategical genius to those of the Civil War, they are surely supported by better staff work.

Dr. Freeman, whose great life of Robert E. Lee is so worthily succeeded by this new work, is a scholar, a newspaperman, and a Virginia aristocrat. His scholarship shines from every page, while the controlling hand of the skilled journalist steers the book out of academic paths. The Virginia aristocrat shows himself chiefly by an amusing tendency to explain military virtue in terms of blue blood.

KEITH HUTCHISON

"A necessary book for the knapsack of every fighter for freedom." —FRANK KINGDON

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Clamor for Combat

PRIMER FOR COMBAT. By Kay Boyle. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

MISS BOYLE'S novel is a love story of expatriates in France, set against a backdrop of war and told in the first person by the heroine, Phyl. The other characters are seen through the dark glasses of Phyl's egotism; in spite of the pompous dramatis personae which introduces them, they hardly emerge. Phyl's lover, Wolfgang, is an Austrian skiing teacher whose hair is so bright it can be seen blocks away. He is very conscious of it. "My God," he keeps saying, shielding it with his hands from desirous glances, "my hair's too bright!" Except that he joins the Foreign Legion to escape a concentration camp, he in every way resembles any other Austrian skiing teacher. Why Phyl, who is a supposedly sensitive and intelligent woman, should be taken in by him is never explained, although it is implied that she has endowed him mistakenly with some of her own qualities. Both she and Miss Boyle seem unhappy unless every emotion is inflated to its utmost. Phyl's husband, poor Benchley, the historian, has a tough time of it. There is nothing more between them except "sorrow and anger"; he finds Wolfgang "a Don Juan, a cheap lady-killer, an Austrian yodeler"; but if he can just hold on to himself, he will see her through.

He is able to hold on to himself until Phyl discovers after three hundred pages of uneven anguish what she knew on page 5—that Wolfgang cannot bear disapproval and that he will even return to his wife, Corinne, a goddaughter of Pétain, to reinstate himself in an ordered society of convention and collaboration.

This does not, as one might expect, fill Miss Boyle's heroine with self-doubt and dislike. She blames Wolfgang rather than herself, and even more the defeat of France, for the failure of their love. Benchley asks, "Who are these strangers—these Wolfgangs—these Sepps?" (Sepp is another Austrian, and far the nicest person in the book with the possible exception of Mathilde, who is damned with faint admiration as beautiful with her light braids and grande-dame face, her weak, eager penniless hands, her talent for arranging flowers, getting into debt, and loving a gigolo—she is "capable both of grief and love.")

> "Who are these intruders?" Benchley said, and my breath came fast when I answered:
> "They are my feeble, my inexcusable participation, Benchley."
> "In what?" said Benchley sharply, and he did not turn round.
> "In the disaster, in humanity's disaster," I said.

Phyl, one feels, is overrating her desire for a blond bronzed Austrian. Her love affair isn't serious enough to compete with war, and the war, too, seems to lose its importance.

There are nevertheless many good things in "Primer for Combat," what the blurb refers to as "vignettes." Where the emotion is not falsified, the observation is as sharp and brilliant as polar weather in New York or mistral brightness blowing down the Rhône valley. When Miss Boyle's personal feelings are not involved, she can concentrate on the one behind the one behind the obvious. But these good

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things—the café chatter, her rendering of the bewildered, well-meaning French upper middle class, are the thinnest of icings on the heavy pastry which is the story. Miss Boyle tries too hard. The result is that she writes like a hysterical woman trying to write like an intelligent man.

JEAN CONNOLLY

The German Riddle

LISTEN, HANS. By Dorothy Thompson. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

THERE is a thirst for objectivity in the Anglo-Saxon mind. We encountered it in the last war in H. G. Wells's "Mr. Britling Sees It Through." We encounter it now in Dorothy Thompson's "Listen, Hans," the story of her broadcasts to Germany. Miss Thompson's aims, however, are vastly more practical than Mr. Wells's. They are part of today's political warfare, where a calm evaluation of the enemy's character and mental processes becomes a prerequisite for an effective assault on his morale.

The first part of her book outlines her broadcasting policies and deals with the various aspects of the German collective mind, primarily the contradictions which have burdened it for centuries. There is little uniformity or continuity in the history of the German nation, which achieved integration as a national state only some twenty years ago. This lack of orderly collective destiny, she believes, has psychologically unsettled the Germans and accounts for much of their explosive aggressiveness.

What are they after, anyway? The trouble with any German goal is that it is fluid and without firm outline—a jellyfish which swells and contracts. From the point of view of universal welfare and peace such vagueness is dangerous. "Our political warfare should seek to bring into full consciousness the contradictions in the German unconscious. It should seek to force the German mind to make itself up." The concept of *Lebensraum* has neither realistic nor materialistic justification today. However, Miss Thompson hopes for support from the rationalism and scientific spirit of the Germans. To reach these she demands that we appeal "with scientific reason and rational objectivity," and that we be bold enough "to risk offending politicians, some of whom have a vested interest in restoration movements of one kind or another." Miss Thompson is well aware of the present revolutionary thought-content of the peoples of Europe and the Asias. They are no longer conditioned to bear an evocation of the status quo. So she offers them certain principles which synthesize the progressive thought of the world. But her *Weltbild* tries to harmonize the need for a planned world economy with the need for the individual amenities that arise out of the Bill of Rights. More feasible seems her other Utopia, which runs parallel with the former, that of a future Commonalty of Mankind—of the new "common people" who are "not to be catalogued by social or economic class."

Both plans, whatever their practicability, are a positive move toward the world of tomorrow. They will appeal to the wise and the just in all lands. But are they far-reaching and realistic enough to carry away not the Nazi youth alone but the revolutionary youth of all Europe and Asia, who will be on the loose on armistice day, whenever it comes? Will Miss Thompson's principles prove a focus for energies and passions unparalleled in history? They may, but only if youth gets an immediate chance to work and work hard.

Miss Thompson's short-wave addresses to her friend Hans, and indirectly to the German people, seem less significant than her introduction. In challenging her foreign public she has a good many aces up her sleeve, but she speaks the language of a liberal world to which the majority of her hearers are no longer attuned. Incidentally, the presentation of her twenty-four broadcasts in book form drives home the fact that the American people live in ignorance of what purports, on short wave, to represent them. They know that official statements are broadcast, but very little else of what or who is on the air in their name.

FELIZIA SEYD

AMUSEMENTS

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PUBLICATION

Free Churchill Pamphlet

The new Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed by Prime Minister Winston Churchill against the wishes of Tory reactionaries in Britain. A huge audience in the Albert Hall, London, heard the Archbishop declare for transference of taxes from production equipment to ground values. (See Christian Century, October 7, 1942.) Churchill himself, in a volume recently issued in New York, says: "Who could have thought that it would be easier to produce by toil and skill all the most necessary or desirable commodities than it is to find consumers for them? It is certain that the economic problem with which we are now confronted is not adequately solved, indeed is not solved at all, by the teachings of the textbooks, however grand may be their logic, however illustrious may be their authors." Churchill is also for the taxation of ground rental values.

Send at once for free copy of Churchill pamphlet, edited by Louis Wallis.

THE HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
30 East 29th Street New York City, N. Y.

Plato: A New Translation

THE REPUBLIC OF PLATO. Translated with Introduction and Notes by Francis MacDonald Cornford. The Oxford University Press. $3.

THE veteran English classicist, F. M. Cornford, has done for Plato's "Republic" what I. A. Richards tried to do and failed. He has given the modern reader a fresh translation in our own idiom which is free from the circumlocutions, the elaborate politeness, and the often ineffective irony of the original. But where Mr. Richards was somewhat bound down by the list of Basic words and even more by his theories about words and the mind, Mr. Cornford has achieved

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the utmost freedom with the most engaging grace. Instead of the traditional ten books, Mr. Cornford divides the "Republic" into the six parts that suggest themselves as natural steps in the argument. The result is that the connection between justice, which starts the discussion, and political forms, which occupy us with their intricate details, is just as apparent as the connection of both of these with Plato's metaphysical and religious views—the conclusion of the work.

When compared with the usual standard translations, this new one seems so easy to read that one wonders why it was not easy to write the very first time a translation was made. If one goes back, for instance, to Shorey in the Loeb Library, one is aghast at the un-English complexities that this scholar felt himself forced to employ in an alleged "translation," at the same time as he assaulted the fine prose of Samuel Butler's renderings of Homer. It is true that translators always arouse more anger than they satisfy curiosity, but I should think it very difficult to carp at Mr. Cornford: his knowledge of Greek is undisputed, and his fairness to the ideas of his author is patent. Possibly his English will seem too terse, sinewy, and colloquial to those who like to sentimentalize "things Greek," but it will rank with the best Elizabethan and Victorian work, with Florio and Scott Moncrieff.

JACQUES BARZUN

Our Stake in Eastern Europe

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. By Josef Hanc. World Peace Foundation. 50 cents.

ISOLATIONISM, some people hope, is as dead as a doornail. It needs no argument, therefore, to prove that the United States has a political and economic stake in Eastern Europe which has plunged the world into war twice within a quarter-century. This interest lends special value to the succinct compendium of Dr. Hanc. His realism does not ignore the inadequacies of the Paris treaties, but points with acumen to the "limitless dynamic character" of revisionism. Dr. Hanc believes that the future of all Europe may depend on the solution of East European problems. This is by no means an overstatement. Nowhere is overheated chauvinism so inflammable as in this region with its interspersed nationalities. There is political wisdom in the suggestion that the Western powers should cooperate in an organization of Eastern Europe for peace. This region "instead of a barrier must become the bridge for the free exchange of goods" or else it will become again a roadway for mechanized war.

The author has touched the core of the problem by interpreting the assurance given to the occupied countries to mean that the United Nations, while restoring their independence, will insist on their cooperation and on their giving up some of their sovereign rights. It may be premature to make more detailed suggestions than those of Vice-President Wallace or those of Secretary of State Cordell Hull in his radio address on July 23, 1942. Nevertheless, it is desirable to have as many proposals as possible set forth for consideration and discussion. Only the appeal to the matter-of-fact American spirit may overcome the residue of isolationism. This little book will be useful to those who are preparing blueprints for post-war Europe.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

FIJI:

LITTLE INDIA OF THE PACIFIC

Motor-busses, radio, factory smoke—in Fiji? Almost impossible to imagine—but true. For the last sixty years, East Indians have been migrating in great numbers to the Fiji Islands, and today bid fair to dominate the economic and the political life of the Islands.

To the native Fijian, primitive and easygoing, this new culture presents a problem, especially in land utilization, where his agricultural methods are those of his ancestors. He prefers the old folkways of village life; yet he must adjust to a way of life he does not understand. Can he survive?

In recent weeks, U. S. troops have landed on Fiji. The Islands are on a main supply route of the United Nations, and may also be in the path of war. This book gives valuable first-hand information on the geography, economic and political conditions of the Islands and their mixed peoples.

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IN BRIEF

NIGHT SHIFT. By Maritta Wolff. Random House. $2.75.

Two years ago Maritta Wolff won considerable attention by being the very young author of the prize-winning novel "Whistle Stop"; now, at twenty-four, she has written a second novel. If "Night Shift"—the story of a sprawling family in an American industrial city—is new proof of Miss Wolff's fictional energy, unfortunately it is even stronger proof of the harm the movies are doing our young writers. All of Miss Wolff's values are the black and white sentimentalized values of Hollywood; her characters are typed in a casting office. Whether she is writing about Sally Otis, the waitress with a heart of gold, or Petey, the night-club singer who is as generous as she is hard-boiled, whether she is concerned with the weakling brother, Joe, or Nicky, the gangster under whose influence Joe falls, Miss Wolff's people are loved or hated, pitied or admired in just the correct Hollywood proportions. And this is particularly to be lamented because Miss Wolff has such an unmistakable vocation for fiction. She is lavish with plot and incident; she has a quite remarkable gift for visualizing scene, and her novel contains at least two memorable passages of description —the account of Sally's Christmas shopping and the description of her first visit to the State Hospital. But our young writers have to get their values somewhere, and it is as much the responsibility of contemporary fiction and criticism as it is of Hollywood that the movies have been able to do this kind of damage.

THE VALLEY OF DECISION. By Marcia Davenport. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

Mrs. Davenport's many-storied monument to a family of Pittsburgh steel people is essentially a book for the trade—the kind of novel which is becoming so much the American fashion, written *con amore* and obviously the fruit of long researches and labors, and the kind of book which, when you have finished with it, fills you with wonder that so much effort and sincerity could have added up to so little in emotional or aesthetic experience. In following the changing fortunes of the Scott family and its mills, Mrs. Davenport's device for tying together her 800 pages and her several generations of characters is a maid whom we meet at the beginning of the volume, entering service in the Pittsburgh mansion at the age of fifteen, and who, as a very old lady, is still with us at the end of the book when the news of Pearl Harbor comes over the radio. What this remarkable servant has learned is what the author wishes the reader to learn—that "there was no life without death," a lesson supported by the author's detailed history of the struggle for the American way of life in Pittsburgh, and by a report, moving but rather gratuitously introduced, of Czecho-Slovakia's struggle against the Nazis.

LA QUINTRALA. By Magdalena Petit. Translated by Lulú Vargas Vila. The Macmillan Company. $2.

"La Quintrala" proves that a prize-winning novel in Chile need be no better than a prize-winning novel in a literature more familiar to us. A historical novel, in the sense that it is based on the life of a Chilean Lucrezia Borgia, "La Quintrala" has its main virtue in the ease with which it recreates the past; for the rest it is the melodramatic biography of a lady maniac who ranged the gamut of unpleasantness from witchcraft to patricide—sensational if only in its oversimplification of horror. Certainly not a work of literary merit, and not even a good thriller.

REPRISAL. By Ethel Vance. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

As thriller, the new novel by the author of "Escape" is slow and disappointing, the theme too familiar—a Nazi has been murdered in occupied France—and the plot held together by only the thinnest thread of mystery and suspense. But Ethel Vance (she is really Grace Zaring Stone, as everyone must know by now) is less interested in the retribution that overtook an individual German than she is in the calamity that overtook all France. What story her novel has is contrived to allow her to explore the hearts and minds of half a dozen typical Frenchmen—chief among them a former Socialist minister —in order to find out why their country fell into German hands in the first place. The result is a mature and thoughtful book, marred, perhaps, by the way in which each character is made to represent a different political and social point of view, and by Miss Vance's flashback method of narration, but none the less a subtle footnote to one of the tragic chapters of modern history.

DRAMA

Holiday Suggestions

Angel Street (Golden). Unusually effective crime mystery done in the quiet English fashion and with a Victorian setting. From last season.

Blithe Spirit (Booth). Also from last season but Noel Coward's best comedy and perhaps the best on Broadway.

The Damask Cheek (Playhouse). Mild period comedy well acted by Flora Robson and others.

The Eve of St. Mark (Cort). Our best war play to date. Maxwell Anderson manages to combine melodrama with some robust humor and sentiment in such a fashion as to constitute a very moving picture of America as it enters the Second World War. Should be on everybody's list.

The Great Big Doorstep (Morosco). Excellent performances by Dorothy Gish and Louis Calhern in a dramatization of last year's novel about the amiable but shiftless Cajuns of the Mississippi Delta. Picturesque and gently amusing.

Janie (Henry Miller). Broad farce-comedy about adolescent girls who throw a party for the soldiers in camp. Not very subtle.

Native Son (Majestic). Revival of violent, Communist-tinged melodrama about sex and murder.

The Pirate (Martin Beck). The Lunts having and providing a good time pretending to be gaudy Latins. Not much of a play but enough to give the Lunts their opportunity.

The Skin of Our Teeth (Plymouth). Thornton Wilder's tragi-comedy of all human history exuberantly played by Tallulah Bankhead, Florence Eldridge, and Fredric March. Bewildered but delightful reviewers have compared the dramatic method to that of nearly everybody from Aristophanes to Meyerhold despite the fact that the author seems inclined to attribute his inspiration to Olsen and Johnson. In any event, one of the biggest hits of the season and quite possibly its best play. Not for the literal-minded.

Strip for Action (National). Sentimentality, bawdy, and patriotism recklessly combined in a sprawling farce about a burlesque show in an army camp. If you can take seriously the story of an innocent ingenue who has always dreamed of the day when

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she can become a strip-tease artist like her dear dead mamma, you may be among the many who find "Strip for Action" something to grow enthusiastic about.

Without Love (St. James). More in the manner of "The Philadelphia Story" than in that of any of Philip Barry's other comedies. Primarily a vehicle for Katharine Hepburn and serving its purpose very well indeed.

Yankee Point (Longacre). Edna Best and John Cromwell in a patriotic war comedy-drama which somehow manages to remain rather tame despite the capture of a German saboteur and an air raid on our coast.

By Jupiter (Shubert). A musical version of "The Warrior's Husband" by Rodgers and Hart. Probably the best of the new musical shows with a plot.

Star and Garter (Music Box). Something like a burlesque show done on a lavish scale and with performers of real talent. Probably next on the list of the would-be censors but in my opinion more than redeemed by a satiric touch which comes very near making it a burlesque to end burlesques. With Bobby Clark and Gypsy Rose Lee.

NOTE: It is assumed that the reader needs only to be reminded that the following old standbys are still to be seen: "Arsenic and Old Lace" (Fulton); "Junior Miss" (Lyceum); "Life with Father" (Empire); "My Sister Eileen" (Ritz); "Uncle Harry" (Hudson); "Sons o' Fun" (Winter Garden). In most cases tickets will be easier to get than for the newer hits.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MUSIC

AT WEBSTER AITKEN'S two recent piano recitals in the New York Times Hall and the Frick Collection I was struck even more than previously by his command of his instrument. By this I mean not only his ability to produce with perfection and ease whatever Bach or Debussy asked in speed of passage-work, complexity of figuration, clarity of polyphonic texture, but the feeling for the nature and capacities of the piano which made every sound that came from it—every melody, run, or chord, from the slightest pianissimo to the most brilliant fortissimo—so unfailingly beautiful, so stunningly magnificent merely as sound. But at the same time as I noted the beauty of the sound I was aware of its equally impressive musical significance—the dynamic inflections and tensions with which the contrapuntal lines moved against each other in Bach's "Goldberg" Variations, or with which the florid melodic line was carried from point to point in the Sarabande of the E minor Partita; the evocative potency of the flashing, darting, twisting sonorities and figurations in Debussy's "Goldfish"; the humor that was infused into Debussy's exercises in Debussyan idiom in his Etudes. The first half or so of Bach's Variations, where Aitken functioned with security and assurance and the highest pitch of intensity, reminded me of a painting of Cézanne by the way the successive pieces came into existence as powerful forms shaped with completeness and finality in every detail by powerful emotions and mind. It was one of the greatest achievements in piano-playing that I have heard; and was not the less so for what happened somewhere after the French Overture variation—an accident in the crossing of hands on the one keyboard in music written for two, and a shaken equilibrium that made possible further accidents. In the New York Times Hall the accident was the deadening acoustics of the hall, which dulled the sound of the Debussy music, and reduced to miniature the sound of Bach's E minor Partita played as a work of small scale.

This is not the first time that I have written about the extraordinary quality of Aitken's playing, and in so doing raised in my readers' minds the inevitable question why his playing is heard so little. The answer is to be found in the way the manager-musician-audience set-up functions—what ends it pursues, what methods it uses, what results it produces. These do not include great performances of Bach's "Goldberg" Variations; and whatever else the set-up may achieve for the people who fit into its pattern, it defeats a musician like Aitken who will not travel from city to city to play Beethoven's "Moonlight" Sonata and little pieces by Chopin, Liszt, and Rachmaninov. About this I will have more to say later; and at that time I will discuss also the part which is played by the newspaper reviewers.

Other matters are more pressing at the moment—among them the New Opera Company production of Verdi's "Macbeth." Having gritted my teeth while some of the Germans among us—joined by Virgil Thomson, who does his worst writing when he indulges in the kind of remote-from-fact concept-spinning the Germans go in for—insisted that Toscanini as an Italian was incapable of performing Beethoven properly, I now had to grit my teeth over the style of Stiedry's performance of Verdi, or rather over the absence of the proper style of this music—over the matter-of-fact statement of what should have been dynamic accompaniment figures, or the metronomic treatment of choral passages that begged for plasticity, for a broadening in pace and sonority at their climaxes. In addition to the conductor's lack of feeling for the music that made it pallid in style, there were the small size and poor quality of the orchestra that made it pallid in sound. The singing was better; Jess Walters, the Macbeth, has a beautiful voice, though much of the time one hears constriction in its use which will do it harm; and Regina Resnick, who replaced Florence Kirk in the performance I attended, has a strong voice of good timbre which she used with excellent dramatic effect. But the acting was of college-dramatic-society caliber; and the stage director seemed to have given no attention to the problem of what costume, make-up and wig, and what movements of body and arms would make of a Regina Resnick—on the stage of the Broadway Theater—a Lady Macbeth; with the result that one saw in "Macbeth" someone gotten up as though to parody a night-club entertainer, and moving as though to parody Florence Kirk's imitation of the lunges and crouches of operatic villainesses. If—as I was led to observe last year—one of the New Opera Company's purposes is to provide opportunities and experience for young Americans, one must question whether the right way to achieve this purpose—right for the artists, for the works, for the public—is to give these young singers roles they are not equipped or ready for in performances for sophisticated New York audiences.

As for "Rosalinda," I found only the brilliantly staged party scene enjoyable.

Postscript on Victor's new set of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4: Though there is a lack of body and power in the bass of the piano, the string basses are very strong. And while Schnabel himself blurs some of the passage-work, there is an additional slight blurring created by the reverberation in the hall, most obviously in the cadenzas and wherever else the piano plays alone. The ears of an engineer friend detected a similar effect in the sound of the orchestra, where I did not notice it.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Our Readers on Darlan

Dear Sirs: May I compliment you on Freda Kirchwey's article in your issue of November 28—Darlan and American Liberals. It was timely and to the point. In my opinion the Darlan appointment was a military, political, and diplomatic blunder. I am fearful of the result for our country and the United Nations. As you well said, an Inter-Allied Political Council should have been in existence when we actively entered the war.

COLONEL SAMUEL PASCOE

Peoria, Ill., December 4

Dear Sirs: Why is it that so few people possess the moral courage to admit that they were mistaken? We expect nothing from our Hamilton Fishes and Senator Tafts, who still reiterate that their position on preparedness was correct, but men like Villard and Norman Thomas make no better showing. So far the only prominent person who has admitted that he was wrong has been the president of Fordham University.

With the opening of the African campaign I wondered what would be the reaction of critics of the Administration who have insisted on a second front on the Continent. I was terribly disappointed with the attitude of *The Nation*. Its only reaction was to utter shrill denunciations and offer ponderous advice. Surely *The Nation* should know that none of its readers think more of Darlan than do its editors. But many of us are realistic enough to believe that the first objective is to win the war in the shortest time possible and with the minimum cost of American lives. If this means accepting the temporary help of the devil himself, we are in favor of it.

As far as De Gaulle is concerned, it might be well to consider what the French people think of him. Several books written by American correspondents living in France during the past year seem to agree that 95 per cent of the French people hate the Germans and Laval and a very large number dislike and distrust De Gaulle. Perhaps the opinion of the French people should be considered before a leader is selected for them.

WALTER H. STIX

Cincinnati, Ohio, December 5

Dear Sirs: Freda Kirchwey's convincing article on Darlan and American Liberals in *The Nation* of November 28 prompts me to write to indorse every word she said. However, I believe she overlooked one point which I consider most important: that this deal with Darlan condones the rotten practices which some of our American business men have been getting away with, lo, these many years—and what is more will continue to get away with, inspired by the government's fine example.

My son, who is in the army, has become quite cynical and has begun to wonder what all the fighting is for.

ROSETTE S. LOWENSTEIN

Chicago, Ill., December 1

Dear Sirs: I have known of *The Nation* for a very long time, and had some direct knowledge of it through reading its columns when it was under the management of those pseudo-liberals, Godkin and Villard. Of late years it has seemed to me to have got its "feet on the ground." I wish, however, to protest against Miss Kirchwey's article in the issue of November 28 on the Administration's attitude toward Admiral Darlan. Her sneer at "quarterback" theories shows that she fails utterly to grasp the situation and is apparently guilty of the same idealism which made the old *Nation* a failure to so great an extent. In a war you have to use "quarterback" tacties. Decisions must be made instantly, on the basis of the actual conditions which confront a commander. What was General Eisenhower to do, confronted with the situation in Africa? He either had to make terms with Darlan or spend valuable time and lives fighting the Vichy French forces. President Roosevelt in his explanation of the course pursued simply recognized the existing realities, saying in effect that for the present we make the arrangement with Darlan, leaving final policies to be decided later.

I am strongly favorable to the Free French, was opposed to Mr. Hull's criticism of the seizure of the Atlantic islands as I am opposed to most of the things for which Hull seems to stand. But the simple facts are these: (1) that Darlan was in command of the French forces in Africa; and (2) that General De Gaulle has not been so popular with the majority of Frenchmen as to make it certain they would accept his leadership.

In my judgment, your criticism of the Administration for its African policy tends to give "aid and comfort" to our enemies.

FRANK C. REID

Pasadena, Cal., December 4

Dear Sirs: Allow me to say a few words in defense of "quarterback strategy." Our present aim should be to win the war in the shortest time and with the least possible bloodshed. The deal with Darlan appears to have furthered both of these ends. The President has assured the French people that, regardless of what steps may be taken to win the war, when it is over they will be free to choose whatever government they desire. They should, therefore, rejoice in whatever hastens victory. Deprecation of the Darlan deal implies disbelief in promises made by the President. This should be expected from Roosevelt haters, but hardly from liberals.

BLACHFORD KOUGH

Chicago, Ill., December 2

Dear Sirs: Your articles on the continued appeasement of the old Vichy and Franco regimes are excellent. It would seem that after the appalling two years of Pétain and Laval we would have learned something. Hull and Roosevelt seem to think that we must do business with the Quislings in all countries rather than with the true representatives of the people. General De Gaulle is the leader of the only existing French government, but he is constantly ignored by both Washington and London, while Moscow has recognized him for what he really is, the true France. De Gaulle may not be all that we could wish him to be, but he has been true both to France and to the United Nations. Darlan and Giraud, on the other hand, represent the old reactionary forces of France that were in large part responsible for selling out the French people. Both Giraud and Darlan could have joined the Free French government at any time during the past two years, but they both chose to become part and parcel of the Vichy outfit. Giraud has consistently refused to recognize the Free French as the real government of France. Darlan is apparently an opportunist of the worst sort.

Why should the democracies, so-

(Continued on page 696)

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called, play around with such semi-fascists? The answer is apparently that there are too many reactionaries in our own government. Roosevelt should know that the only appeal we make to the suppressed opposition in Nazi-occupied territory is our reputation for playing fair and being really anti-fascist. When we deal with Darlans and Girauds we sully our reputation and compromise our honor.

Our dealings with Franco are cut from the same cloth. Franco is a rock-ribbed fascist and can have no future in a democratic world order. He of course fully knows this and therefore is only biding his time. Hitler is his boss and he acknowledges him as such. For many high-placed Foreign Office officials in both London and Washington to pretend otherwise is absurd.

HOWARD A. DYE

Hillside, N. J., December 3

Dear Sirs: In a fine, idealistic way you are absolutely right in your editorial heading the November 28 issue. The only thing you perhaps overlook is that the world since at least 1900 has been in process of violent readjustment to atttain a new equilibrium more satisfactory to the powers as a whole than the one which existed from the end of the French Revolution till the Kaiser challenged it in 1905. This readjustment will require many wars, many changes of sides, and at least a generation more of fighting; what the final equilibrium will be you and I cannot even remotely imagine. What happens month by month and year by year guides us not at all. After this phase of the long conflict comes to a close and before the next phase starts we may get some inkling. Meanwhile, do not place too much importance on today.

T. SWANN HARDING

Falls Church, Va., December 8

Dear Sirs: I cannot agree with the position taken by many of our writers and commentators in regard to our deal with Admiral Darlan. The arguments for accepting the aid of this clever opportunist are the same used to justify Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler at Munich. We were told that he too was only being realistic in order to save lives.

So the appeasers are still unable to see beyond their nose or to distinguish between leaders who have proved their loyalty to the things that we pretend to be fighting for and those who have betrayed their country and people as well as the cause of a Free World.

If Pétain and Darlan had not been appeasers, defeatists, and fascists at heart, they would have gone to North Africa and carried on the fight in June, 1940. Instead they made a deal with Hitler and turned hundreds of spirited and loyal French citizens over to the Gestapo and the firing squad. Yet we accept them as allies, and some even try to make heroes of them. In the face of these facts how can we expect the millions of little people all over the world to get enthusiastic over our talk about the Four Freedoms and democracy? Millions of people in Europe know by now what appeasement has done to them. Can't our leaders show some integrity? Don't they know that success does not make right any more than "might makes right"?

JOHN M. ROCK

Cheyenne, Wyo., December 4

Dear Sirs: The issue before the democratic world today is victory, regardless of cost or ethics. The value of Darlan cannot be too greatly emphasized; it is surely more than enough to overshadow any moral points which Miss Kirchwey's articles in *The Nation* have brought to light. His aid to the Allies has been priceless, and through him the life of many an American boy has been saved. But this should be well known, and therefore I shall confine my remarks to the issue chosen by Miss Kirchwey, the moral issue.

Miss Kirchwey speaks of the saddened feelings in France aroused by the Allies' recognition of Darlan. I wonder how sad the French would have felt if Darlan, having been spurned by the Allied command, had chosen to resist. There would be no gay thoughts running through the minds of Frenchmen with the Axis radios pounding into them the reports of bloody fighting between the sons of France in Africa and the troops that had come to liberate them. What would have been the feelings of France if the Axis, having been given time to reinforce its African armies by the fighting between the French and the Allies, had won the victory and driven the Allies from Africa, thereby snuffing out the French hope for freedom?

Miss Kirchwey places ethics above military strategy. So did the Belgians and Dutch, and instead of letting British troops enter their country before the Nazi invasion, they waited until it was too late.

EDDIE KRELL

St. Louis, Mo., December 2

For Nazis Only

Dear Sirs: On page 510 of the November 14 *Nation* Argus has a piece called Behind the Enemy Line which deals in part with the preface Ernest Hemingway wrote for "Men at War." Argus says, "In the introduction to his anthology 'Men at War' Ernest Hemingway again suggests that after the war *all Germans* should be sterilized."

In his preface to "Men at War" Hemingway wrote: "All members of *Nazi party organizations* should be submitted to it [sterilization] if we are ever to have a peace that is to be anything more than a breathing space between wars. . . . It is not wise to advocate sterilization now as a government or Allied policy since it can only cause increased resistance. . . ." (Italics mine.)

MARTHA GELLHORN HEMINGWAY

San Francisco de Paula, Cuba
December 2

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